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Abstract

The results of an investigation of the reactions of young children (ranging from four to nine years of age) in France, Germany, England, America, and Czechoslovkia to two Prix Jeunesse winning television films are examined in this document. Summarized reports from each of the participating countries for the film "Patrik and Putrik" and, separately, for the film "Clown Ferdl" are included. Each report offers a discussion of the method used for gathering data, findings, and conclusions. At the beginning of the grouped reports for each film there is an introductory passage indicating problems encountered in attempting to coordinate the studies among the countries, problems involved in gathering and evaluating the information, comparative results which show that the films generally were liked but would not have been chosen for the Prix Jeunesse by the children, and the varying theoretical and methodological approaches of each country to analyzing the children's film receptivity, understanding, and perception. (SP)

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FINDINGS AND COGNITION ON THE TELEVISION PERCEPTION OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

based on the prize-winning
programmes of Prix Jeunesse 1966

PATRIK AND PUTRIK
AND
CLOWN FERDL

■

REPORTS ON EVALUATIONS
CONDUCTED IN 5 COUNTRIES:

Federal Republic of Germany
France
Great Britain
Czechoslovakia
United States of America

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AIMS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH CARRIED OUT UNDER THE AUSPICES OF PRIX JEUNESSE

From the very first planning stages of the Prix Jeunesse Foundation it was intended that experience gained at the competitions should be subsequently analyzed and scientifically studied. The studies of "Patrik und Putrik" and "Clown Ferdl" presented here belong to the second phase of this project which, despite the short period of time that has elapsed since the foundation of Prix Jeunesse in 1964, has already undergone a not uninteresting development with regard to the manner of execution and the applied methods.

The objects of the planned studies are largely anchored in the aims of the Foundation: the studies should first and foremost serve the interests of Prix Jeunesse itself, which primarily means working out criteria which are as reliable and accurate as possible for the evaluation of children's and young people's programmes – a particularly urgent task, as the Jury will always be faced with the difficulty of deciding for a section of the viewing public which belongs to a different age group to themselves.

Findings of this kind as well as results which are in line with the further intentions of the founders to make a generous "international contribution towards a sensible development and utilization of television", however, can only be expected from such studies as extend beyond the relatively narrow limits of Prix Jeunesse, and research which is pursued along basic lines.

The statutes of Prix Jeunesse furthermore stipulate that it should "contribute towards the understanding between the peoples" by means of international programme exchange. This means that the studies should be comparative on an international level. So far little is known of the importance of the national character of the viewer for his receptivity to and assimilation of television programmes; instead, one frequently hears the very broad generalization that films and television have created an internationally comprehensible language by developing a pictorial language. There may be some truth in this, but a programme exchange scheme which stresses the importance of international understanding also calls for an effort to clarify and differentiate this and similar generalizations (e. g. do the same actions, gestures, characterizations of persons, the same means of presentation as tempo, structure, etc. imply the same or different things to children and young people of different nationalities?).

The first study, which was undertaken after the first Competition in the summer of 1964, can probably best be compared with a preliminary reconnaissance of the territory. It was carried out only at the seat of Prix Jeunesse in Munich by the German group resident there (Wissenschaftliches Institut für Jugend- und Bildungsfragen in Film und Fernsehen).

This study was published in No 1 of the Publications of the Internationales Zentralinstitut für das Jugend- und Bildungsfernsehen in September 1965 in German, English and French.

In order to gain as comprehensive a survey as possible, all the 1964 prize-winning programmes were studied, as was also the magazine programme "Format 16/20" (which was interesting because of its mixture of pop and documentary type numbers) – in all 11 programmes. The sample consisted of nearly 500 children and young people of both sexes, including pupils from all types of schools, and, among the young people, also some who were already working. On each occasion 8–15 respondents of the same age group saw one – or, in some cases two – programmes which had been awarded a prize for viewers of their age. The respondents were kept in the same groups for the subsequent study. After they had filled out a short questionnaire with some questions of a more general kind and some related directly to the programme, the emphasis lay on a comprehensive group discussion, which could be characterized as "semi-standardized", since the attempt was made to enable each participant to indulge in spontaneous expression – in order to guarantee the breadth of the survey – and also to bring up certain points for discussion in each group in order to have a basis for comparing opinions.

In the analysis and presentation of the results an attempt was made to bring the various kinds of comprehension of the respondents into close relation with concrete situations in the test programmes, and, if possible, to reduce these observations to a generalizable formula and compare it with the results of psychological research in the field of development and motion pictures. This intention is also given expression in the title: "Recurrent Phenomena in the Response of Children and Young People to Television".

The Prix Jeunesse 1966 studies contained in the present publication are essentially different from the first research phase just described. A decisive factor was that the planned cooperation with institutes of other countries could be realized. It was largely this new kind of international team work, unprecedented in the field of children's television, which gave the second research phase its special character: it was necessary to create a workable model for this kind of comparative research. Information on the results, the problems, and the search for suitable methods, is to be found primarily in the introductions to the two individual studies.

Wissenschaftliches Institut
für Jugend- und Bildungsfragen
in Film und Fernsehen

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Siegfried G. Magold

REPORTS ON INTERNATIONAL EVALUATIONS
OF CHILDREN'S REACTIONS TO THE
SWEDISH TELEVISION PROGRAMME

PATRIK AND PUTRIK

CONDUCTED IN GREAT BRITAIN, GERMANY, FRANCE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA
AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Compiled and introduced
by
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INTRODUCTION

In many ways this report records an unusual, if not a unique happening, in mass communication research. The vast amount of literature in this field of study is not marked by attempts to measure the responses of different groups of individuals in different countries to the same stimulus. This report deals with work which does try to do this; work which attempts to evaluate the reactions of young children in five different countries to a film judge by an adult jury to be a "prize winner" for the particular age group from which the children in the study were selected.

In claiming that the work is unusual or unique, it is not however, being claimed that it represents the final answer, in fact it just about represents a stumbling beginning. It will become clear in reading the pages which follow that there are several imperfections and limitations in the work and in the circumstances I doubt if it could have been otherwise. Even so, the work does represent a brave and ambitious attempt to take the first steps in a virtually uncharted area and the Prix Jeunesse organisation is to be congratulated for making this venture possible. I hope the sponsors will feel that this first effort has been worthwhile; I know that the researchers feel it has, for in spite of the acknowledged limitations they are glad to have this opportunity of exploring the possibilities of international cooperation in this area.

The results in themselves have been well worth the effort but perhaps the greatest gain has been in learning how best we may go about this sort of work in the future. If we really have made some progress towards finding out how social scientists from different countries, with different approaches can work together in cooperation with an organisation like Prix Jeunesse to the benefit of all concerned, and I think we have done this, then the investment and effort will certainly have been worthwhile, and we can loock forward with optimism to future developments.

In 1966, the second Prix Jeunesse competition was held in Munich. Television programmes for children were entered from approximately thirty countries. Prizes were awarded for four age-levels and two categories – entertainment and information. The Swedish programme, "Patrik and Putrik", was awarded the Prix Jeunesse as the best entertainment programme for young children. In brief, the programme roughly fifteen minutes in length, shows two puppets awakening, acting hungry, searching a cookbook for a recipe and mixing and baking cookies or biscuits (an activity which ends in failure). The programme ends with the puppets using the round cookies as wheels attached to a shoe in order to make a vehicle in which they ride. The two puppets are flexible figures which are manipulated, then filmed in a sequence of mishaps arising from their attempt to bake cookies. The programme is a mixture of situation and comedy perpetrated by puppets at levels intended to be obvious to children. There is no language involved, the only accompaniment is musical and this is one of the main reasons why this became the first Prix Jeunesse film to be the subject of international research cooperation.

Understanding about the method

The original intention when the idea was first conceived was that social scientists from different countries (it was not quite clear at the outset how many would be contributing) should meet together in Munich and work out an agreed approach to a research project on a film which had been awarded a prize in the 1966 Prix Jeunesse competition.

Five countries (France, Germany, England, Czechoslovakia and the United States) eventually took part in the exercise but only the first three of these were represented at the first planning meeting. As things turned out, this was not as problematic as it might have been, although the Czech approach is rather different in general orientation (being more a work of straightforward audience research than the other approaches reported in these pages.) The American design (although not the method of presentation adopted for this report) closely parallels the one used by Dr. Noble in England and was in fact, derived from it. This "agreement" between the two English speaking contributors draws attention to a point which was found to be central to the whole exercise, namely that of communication allied in this case to a common research tradition. Agreement is not the easiest thing to achieve as we all know and history and experiences suggest that international agreement brings with it its own peculiar problems and difficulties. Agreement is often not achieved around international conference tables because people from one group quite literally do not know what those from the other group are talking about.

Our planning meetings were no exception to this, although I would not wish to give the impression that discord reigned supreme. On the contrary, the sessions were fruitful and enjoyable; but the point I wish to emphasise is that we were all probably over ambitious, optimistic and perhaps a little naive to think that we could plan the sort of operation we had in mind after a couple of meetings. At the beginning, it was hoped that there would be an agreed plan in terms of sample, design, method, execution, analysis and report and that this agreed plan would be faithfully carried out in detail without variations in all five countries.

National and sociocultural differences

Perhaps it is laudable to start with high aims, and in retrospect it is easy to be wise, but needless to say, these original intentions were not carried through. Apart from any other difficulties, those at the practical level (availability of children, schools etc.) meant that it was impossible to keep to the agreed sampling plan. In terms of social class there is probably an over-representation of working class children in the American and English samples, whereas middle-class children seem to be over represented in the French sample. The film, which records the interviewing of the French children, confirms this and suggests a level of articulation and sophistication on the part of these children that is not matched in the other countries. Moreover, it would have been difficult if not impossible in the case of Czechoslovakia to apply social-class categories comparable to those generally used in what might be termed the western empirical research tradition.

This question of research tradition is an extremely important one, and one which must be taken into account in any attempt at international cooperation in research. I will make no attempt in this introduction to write in terms of good and bad or suitable and unsuitable approaches – the operative and only word we need use in this report is "different". The differences in research tradition occur at every level from hypothesis formulation through interviewing and preparation of instruments to the analysis and report stage. This question will not be covered in detail here, in any case, the reports which follow give clear indication of these different approaches.

As mentioned earlier the Czechoslovakian report is not unlike a conventional audience research report. The English report is unlike the others in that it is more firmly set in, and related to, relevant social scientific frameworks, particularly those connected with child development. It should be noted that this particular report covers only a section of the work covered in the total English study.

The English report and also the one from America have a heavier statistical orientation than the others. The German contributors make the relevant point (one with which I personally have some sympathy) that small numbers such as those used in the study do not lend themselves to sophisticated statistical treatment. I think the real point at issue here is that statistical sledgehammers are sometimes used to crack very small nuts and that this practice often leads to incautious and at times quite invalid generalizations.

The interpretations in the various reports are most interesting both in relation to the actual findings and as indications of the thinking behind the different approaches adopted. There is more straightforward hypotheses testing in the English work than in the other work. Incidentally, it was argued at one of the research meetings that research confined to hypothesis testing tends to restrict the whole operation; the idea apparently being that rich experiences and vital sources of information are missed because the researcher is blinkered by the restriction imposed by his hypotheses.

This is, of course, a real possibility, (in fact, in many cases, for good reasons, it is often a deliberate aim). Moreover, it can also be accepted that if one is not very careful and cautious with this approach interpretations (sometimes rather naive ones) can be made within one particular framework to the exclusion of all others. The reality/fantasy interpretations in this report are a case in point as both German and American contributors point out.

On the other hand, it can be argued that it is better to make interpretations within carefully formulated and acknowledged frameworks, notwithstanding the occasional extravagant interpretation, (e. g. comments in the English report on gregarious and isolate children) than interpret almost ad hoc, so to speak without reference to any hypothesis or theoretical position. It can be argued that if interpretations are going to be made (and, with the possible exception of the Czech report, they are made by all the contributors) then it is essential to have explicit statements indicating clearly the position from which the interpretations stem. If I read the position correctly, these reports, taken together, show the French and English at opposite ends of a continuum with the American (although more cautious and less extravagant in "formal" interpretations) nearer to the English, and the Germans (with a similar qualification applying to what for want of a better term, I will call ad hoc interpretations) nearer to the French.1)

A similar sort of division might also be seen in relation to the construction of questionnaires and the carrying out of interviews, although in this particular case the more formal and structured design was preferred by the English contributor mainly in an attempt to preserve what at that time was thought might still be a genuine comparative study.

An attempt at objectivity

The reports which follow will show that although, for the reasons already given, the work was not strictly speaking comparative, there is nevertheless a great deal of material which with profit, can be compared. The reports speak for themselves so it is quite unnecessary for me to attempt an overall summary. I will, however, select certain aspects which I think worthy of special attention and comment briefly on these. I hope to do this as objectively as possible, in fact, I hope that this whole introduction will be written without too much bias. I feel this can be done, for although I contributed to the planning and design stages of the exercise, I did not carry out, analyse or write up the English work. This was done by one of my research officers, Dr. Grant Noble and his assistants, mainly whilst I was in the United States. In any case, as I am primarily a sociologist, whereas Dr. Noble is a psychologist, this would be seen by some as providing an even firmer basis for my objectivity or at least a basis for my being able and willing to adopt a critical attitude towards the English as well as towards all the other contributions.

One final point before I make a few comments about the results and that is that I wrote the Czechoslovakian report as it is presented in these pages. All contributors were asked to let me have summaries of their work of between 3–5,000 words which I could then prepare for this main report. I did not receive such a report from Czechoslovakia so there was no alternative but to prepare a report from the English translation of the complete Czechoslovakian report which had been presented at an earlier meeting. I hope I have done justice to this work but I apologise for any shortcomings.

As might be expected, when asked questions about liking or not liking a film immediately after viewing, the overall response is positive. However, other research in this area has shown that it would be unwise to use such a simple response out of context as a true indication of the appreciation of the film. A more accurate appreciation is likely to stem from questions which ask respondents to compare the film or programme with their favourite choices in general viewing. When this is done in relation to "Patrik and Putrik" the overall response shows that this film is not perceived by the children in the various countries as a prize winner, at least certainly not as a first prize winner. Many children from the English immigrant sample reported disliking

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1) All interpretations and generalisations in this study are essentially about reactions to one film and one film only. Even if all the children, for example, remembered best what came first in the film this is an inadequate basis for a generalisation about primary effect. Content and methods of presentation, to name but two factors, must be considered and we require more than one film for this.

the film. This could well represent a cultural difference in familiarity and/or expectations. The french contributors seem to be alone in thinking the jury was right to give this programme a prize, but it is not clear from their report why they make such a favourable assessment.

Children from Czechoslovakia rate "Patrik and Putrik" below even their second favourite choice of general programmes. This is interesting for it is reasonable to suggest that these children because of their experience (unlike the American children, as Professor Garry points out) are likely to have higher standards of puppet appreciation. This whole question of puppet familiarity or more generally content or genre familiarity, is one that might be taken into account in future research.

The American children are reported as being rather vague in their answer to questions about why they liked the film and in England the five and six years olds (as one would predict from child psychology) were unable to answer "why" questions. Apparently, children in Czechoslovakia, France and Germany all stressed the funny and comical nature of the film although in Germany a "dynamic action" factor was also given as a main reason for liking it.

Judging the programme

The French offer some interesting comments of the humorous or comical nature of the film, suggesting a tentative hypothesis of "rythmical strokes of comic perception". It is also suggested that too much laughter at one point can impede appreciation or enjoyment at another point closely connected in time. Humour as well as recall and perhaps attention in general seem to be closely connected with the preparation of the pastry and the car incidents and it is interesting to see how this is interpreted. The American, English and Czechoslovakian reports all give some support to the idea that this might have something to do with order of presentation. This factor is not ignored by the French but a different sort of interpretation mentions the comical aspects of failure and the abstraction of the mechanical device in overcoming failure.

The German contributors write:

"The fact that Patrik and Putrik use the badly baked biscuits to make a comical car is booked as a big success. The thesis that the success of the heroes finds the approbation of a child audience (cf. Himmelweit 1958) is confirmed by this fact, even though this seems to be contradicted by the finding that the 'unsuccessful scenes' are among the favourite sequences. This contradiction could be explained by the possibility of overlapping of comical and dynamic scenes with scenes based on identification of the audience with the 'heroes' of the programme. Over and above this, the identification thesis is confirmed by the fact that scenes rated highly by the respondents coincide with those undertakings of Patrik und Putrik in which the children themselves would like to engage."

A further aspect of the comical situation is commented on by the French who suggest that sometimes the comic element is missed or ignored and that the comic is not seen to be comic if it hurts (the mousetrap incident which seemed to misfire for a variety of reasons) or if it constitutes an "irreparable break" as far as the film is concerned.

This form of interpretation is a good example of the type of apparently "ad hoc" interpretation referred to earlier in this introduction. Another example, and an extremely interesting one, is also produced by the French contributors when instead of merely referring to mistakes in perception of the film (indicated by the children's answers) they write about the children "giving the film a logicality that was lacking"[1]. To some this may sound extravagant and going well beyond the evidence but it may be correct and it may be a step nearer to understanding the children's reactions than any simple count of misperceived incidents. Of course, hard evidence is lacking, although as the French remind us the children may have felt cheated by the apparent illogicality of the moving of the hands of the clock and the baking of the cakes. The end product should have been the opposite to the one shown in the film. Similarly the French contributors are not merely content to report the number of children who said the puppets spoke or didn't speak as the case may be. They go on to comment on the children "quickly learning to understand the rules" of the non speaking film. The German contributors also make a similar comment. On the whole I think that the French approach may be termed film-oriented while the English approach is certainly more child-oriented and relies more on child psychology than on mass communication research. In the English report, great stress is placed on cognitive development in general and on the cognitive revolution in particular. Generally, the work seems to confirm the existence of a nodal point in relation to comprehension, somewhere between the sixth and seventh birthday. There is a suggestion of a sudden, as distinct from a gradual, grasp of story line between these ages although the English work also reports (against general findings in this area) that 6 year old are capable of understanding interaction of scenes. In cognitive development terms, the Americans report that there is a progressive development by age, as expected.

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[1] In another part of their report the French contributors state that the young children forget incidents that are not essential to the logic of the film.

Cognitive development of our children

A further comment in this area is offered by Professor Garry when he writes: "Comparisons of cognitive performance are complicated by differences in the treatment of the data in the several reports. The performance of the children in Czechoslovakia, England, France and the United States appears comparable in the recognition and ordering of pictures taken from the programme. In the unaided recall of objects used by the puppets, the American, French and English children score at the same level, immigrant children to England from India and the West Indies score lowest, and Czechoslovakian children score highest. Again, on free recall of incidents from the programme and recall of the major sequences, American and English children achieve similar scores, higher than the immigrant children. The American children make fewer errors in the order in which they recall the major sequences. Of further interest is the fact that the American children attain near perfect scores in describing what the puppets are doing in reaction to picture stimuli, yet fall down on what might be termed plot recognition. They had very little cognizance of the fact that the theme and the humour of the program derived from the mishaps of the puppets. For example, they completely missed the connection between the length of baking time and the cookie failure, or even simpler, the effect of putting pepper in the batter. Thus they seemed better able to observe and report than to analyze when compared with European children of similar age. To what effect variations in sampling, in television habits, and other factors affect these results is not known."

Some of the traditional work on cognitive development has been criticised because it has not taken into account relevant cultural factors. The English work, by using two samples, one composed of immigrant children from the West Indies and India/Pakistan throws some interesting light on these cultural differences in relation to cognitive development and by extension in relation to media appreciation. Although it would have been useful to have more information on the immigrant children's length of residence in England, it is particularly interesting with these children to see evidence of acculturalisation, particularly the influence of the school in this process, between the years 5 and 8*). In an entirely different context the German contributors also draw attention to the importance of school experience as a factor in the development of understanding and appreciation.

The American study was also carried out on two samples (one of negro children) but there the points of comparison with the English sample on this score come to an end. Unlike the situation in England there are more similarities than differences between the two American samples. Colour of skin as such is not likely to be a relevant variable, but length of residence, assimilation, degree of opportunity, common language, common perspectives and common understanding are.

This sort of analysis could be extended to different (non-racial or ethnic) forms of sub-cultures or minority groups within any or all of the countries which this work concerned. Social class is probably the most neglected variable in this study and yet it is one that may play an important part in media perception, understanding and appreciation. Added force is given to this argument when it is realised that producers often produce and jurors often judge, although not necessarily consciously, more for one class (the one with which they are familiar) than for any other.

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*) Language ability in answering the questions in the interview situation must be taken into account when studying the findings in this section.

Does it pay to undertake a truely comparative study?

Some children found it difficult to answer the question about the intentions of the producer in making the film but of those who did, quite a few (France and Czechoslovakia) said "to make us laugh". Some of the Czechoslovakian children also indicated that they disliked the idea of ruining a book, but the English contributor reports that dislike is clearly related to difficulty in understanding.

As far as the French children are concerned a rather heavy moralizing tone is perceived with regard to dislikes as indeed it is in relation to the French children in other parts of the analysis as well. In fact, the French children come through, not only as being more moralizing and serious but as being much more sophisticated in their answers and much more articulate in their criticisms than do the children from other countries. Whether this is mainly due to selection of sample, method of interviewing, form of interpretation or to selective perception on my part on the other, it is impossible to say with certainty. I presume it was in the hope that we might be able to answer such questions with at least more certainty than is customary that we attempted to plan a genuine comparative study in the first place.

What of the future? Perhaps we ought to face the fact that the difficulties in the way of genuine comparative research are well nigh insuperable although I presume that a genuine comparative study could be achieved by giving the responsibility for overall control and execution in all countries to one team or institution. Needles to say, this too would not be without its difficulties (e. g. language) but it might be worth a try. Of course, it has been argued that pratical difficulties are not the main reason for not persisting with this "genuine" idea and that there are other social scientific arguments that should lead us to recommend another approach.

Applied results

Such an approach might involve the various countries carrying out their assessments (perhaps not always on the same film) in their own way within their own traditions. All of them making valid social scientific contributions, all of them contributing in their different ways to the work of Prix Jeunesse. The social scientists from the various countries could still gather together for research meetings (this would continue to be important) but instead of interminable wrangles about 4 point and 5 point scales or about nuances in translation there could be a useful exchange of information, of gains in knowledge, comments on new methods and problems experienced and so on.

However, in my opinion, the essence of what I consider to be the heart of the matter (and this is also central to the interests of Prix Jeunesse) has not yet been mentioned. I refer, of course, to the vital need to link research on the reactions of children to the prize winning films to the decisions of the jury and if possible to the intention of the producers. Effects and reactions must be studied but they are only one aspect of what is a process and unfortunately, the other aspects of this process are all too frequently ignored.

To put it as mildly as possible, grave doubts have been expressed in these reports as to the prize winning quality of "Patrik and Putrik". Yet it was given a prize. The prize was awarded by adults who no doubt had good reasons for making their decision, reasons, which at least in part, were probably based on anticipations of children's reactions. What were these reasons and how do they match up to the reactions of the children? In brief and simple terms, this is the central question and it is in trying to answer this question that social scientists can make their most useful contributions to the work of Prix Jeunesse.

In writing all this, it is in no way being suggested that the work reported on this pioneer attempt in these pages was not worthwhile. It most definitely was worthwhile as well as being both interesting and useful. However, its full value will be realized only if we learn from our experience, extend our operation and apply what we have learned where it will be of most use. This area of maximum use is clearly indicated above.

In conclusion, I would like to thank all my fellow researchers in the various countries who contributed to this work. I hope they will not feel that I have misreported their work or been unfair to them in any way. My thanks are also due to Miss von Zallinger and Mrs. Griebel for heroic feats of translation and my own clerical staff at the Centre for Mass Communication Research, University of Leicester, particularly Miss F. Swingler and Mrs. B. Fleming. Last but by no means least, I gratefully acknowledge our indebtness to the officials of Prix Jeunesse, particularly to Mr. Siegfried G. Magold for his kindness, and especially for his patience and tolerance in dealing with "objective" social scientists.

James D. Halloran

THE ENGLISH REPORT

Introduction

A large amount of useful information was collected in the two "Patrik and Putrik" studies carried out at Leicester and it would have been possible to present this information in several ways. However, in an abbreviated report such as this, selections have to be made and in this report there are two main areas of emphasis. These are (a) the interpretation of the data in relation to some aspects of child development theory, (b) comparisons between native English children and immigrant children living in England in their reactions to the film. This approach was selected because it was considered to be a more interesting one than a simple reporting of reactions as in conventional audience research and because the different methods used in the different countries in executing the research meant that it was no longer necessary to keep a uniform method of presentation. The genuine comparative element was not going to be so important as had at first been thought.

Outline of some earlier research relevant to this study

Flapan (1965), Franck (1955) and Zazzo (1956) have reported that children of six years did not understand the interaction of scenes in film, and that children of this age see films as a series of incidents unrelated to each other. Gomberg (1961) has suggested that children of five years and below perceive everything seen on television as real and true. These findings can be related to Piaget's (1926) work on the child's cognitive development. Piaget argues that between the ages of four and seven a cognitive revolution takes place. Instead of dealing with appearances as if they were the true reality, an older child behaves in accordance with a theory which states that physical quantities are the invariant under simple changes in location and that some form of logical order in events is perceived.

There is ample evidence (Houghton (1966), Vernon (1966) and Vernon (1963) that immigrant children's scholastic attainment does not match up to that achieved by English children. Following such work it was thought that immigrant children might not comprehend the puppet film under study as well as the native English children. Vernon (1966) found that West Indian boys were relatively advanced in numerical problem solving, handedness and time concepts and most backward on conservation problems. It is possible then that the immigrant children would be able to understand the linear plot sequence but may be unable to verbalize what they know because of language difficulties. Because of the differences in upbringing of immigrant children it was thought that they might have different reactions to the film perhaps disliking it more than the English children.*

Plan of the investigation

A structured interview schedule was devised (based on the Munich discussion) piloted and revised. Questions were included from previous work to evaluate the children's appreciation of the film, children's comprehension of the film and pertinent background information for each child. Women in training for the teaching profession were trained to administer the questionnaire and to ask open-ended questions. Each interviewer then individually interviewed children from the sample and the whole interview was tape recorded.

The sample of native English children was taken at random from the nominal role of a typical urban primary school, in a city of over quarter of a million people. Five boys and five girls from each of the age groups five, six, seven and eight were taken to a viewing centre at the University where they watched the film. They were individually interviewed immediately after viewing. Exactly the same interviewing procedure was adopted for the immigrant children, but this sample was selected from those children that were able to converse in English.* Twelve children were selected from each age (five to eight inclusive) so that the sample contained both an equal number of boys and girls and an equal number of West Indian and Indian/Pakistani (*1) immigrants.

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*) Vernon's work compares native West Indian children living in the West Indies with native born English children living in England. Not all the children (West Indian and Indian/Pakistan) in the sample were born in England.

Statement of results

All the children in both English and immigrant samples said they liked the film, but more detailed analysis by means of a modified version of the semantic differential revealed that neither the English nor the immigrant children were overwhelmingly enthusiastic. Immigrant children rated "Patrik and Putrik" significantly (beyond one chance in twenty) less favourably than did the English children. Only the eight year old immigrant children rated the film as being more enjoyable than their English counterparts and this may suggest "socialization" to western media takes place over some time, and possibly by contact in English schools.

When the children were asked if they would rather watch "Patrik and Putrik" or their favourite television programmes 53% of the English children, 48% of the West Indian children and 33% of the Indian children said they would (*2). We might say then that as seen by a child audience in England, "Patrik and Putrik" is not a clear prize winning film. Eight year old children liked the film more than did younger children, yet children of this age fall outside the age category for the award. Because there is some evidence to suggest that West Indian children are closer to the English way of life and are more keen to identify with it (they also speak the language) than are the Indian children, it was thought that the West Indians might like the film more than the Indians. There is some slight evidence to support this.

When asked to tell the story of the film, English children averaged a score of 10.5 incidents (out of a total of 127 incidents) whilst immigrant children recalled on average only 5.7 incidents. The difference between these two scores being statistically significant. This could be interpreted as offering support for the work of Vernon (1966) cited previously. However, with the eight year olds, immigrants recalled the same number of incidents as the English children suggesting that the immigrant child will catch up with the English child after a period of "socialization" in an English environment.

In the English sample, five year old children recalled only six incidents whereas older children recalled on average twelve incidents (the difference between these scores being statistically significant). It may be that the beginning of the cognitive revolution takes place at six years when the child's memory abilities develop enabling the child to recall twice the number of incidents recalled at five years.

In the immigrant sample five and six year olds recalled only four incidents whereas seven and eight year old children recalled nine and a half incidents (which is significantly more). This suggests that further enquiries are necessary on the link between cultural factors on the one hand and cognitive development and media appreciation and comprehension on the other.

The children's answers to the questionnaire items were then analysed to see how many of the seven basic sequences in the film were recalled, and a similar picture emerges to the one reported above. In addition a second score was calculated in relation to the sequences and this was based on the number of sequences recalled in the correct order. (The children were asked to tell the story as it happened.) The purpose of this score was to test the child's ability to combine "time concepts" with his memory abilities. In the English sample five year olds recalled significantly fewer sequences in order (1.3) than did older children (3.3). This may indicate that six year old children are capable of understanding the interaction of scenes which Franck (1955) and Zazzo (1956) have suggested they are unable to do. In the immigrant sample, five and six year old children recalled significantly fewer sequences in order (1.2) than did seven and eight year old children (3.1), so perhaps this offers some support for the earlier work. Overall, there was no significant difference between the immigrant and English samples in their ability to recall sequences from the plot in order. Thus it would appear that although the memory skills of immigrant children appear to be somewhat less developed than are those of the English children, the ability of the immigrant children to combine memory skills with "time concepts" is not retarded as Vernon's (1966) findings would have us believe.

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*) Many children recently arrived from India and Pakistan are not able to speak in English.

*1) In the following pages these will be referred to as „Indian".

*2) It should be remembered that the total samples are 40, 24 and 24 respectively.

Since a young child's limited vocabulary may not enable him to recount all he has remembered or understood about a film, it is useful to administer non-verbal tests if this is possible. In this study comprehension was also tested by means of photograph recognition and sequencing tasks. As Piaget (1926) found, perceptual constancy would not appear to develop until the cognitive revolution takes place at seven years. In the English sample five and six years recognized significantly fewer photographs from "Patrik and Putrik" than did seven and eight year olds. In agreement with Vernon's (1966) findings that West Indian children were most backward on "conservation problems", immigrant children recognized significantly fewer photographs from "Patrik and Putrik" than did English children. On the photograph recognition task, there were no significant differences between the ages sampled within the immigrant group. However, when asked to place five photographs from the film in order in which they occurred, immigrant children's scores were not significantly different from English children's scores. Thus, time concepts do, (as Vernon (1966) found) appear to develop as fast in immigrants as in English children. In both the English and immigrant samples, five and six year old children were (significantly) less able to put the photographs in order than were the seven and eight year old children. These findings may be seen as lending support to the work of Zazzo (1956) and Franck (1955) both of whom suggest that it is at seven years that children are able to understand interaction scenes.

The results obtained when the children were asked to describe the photographs tend to support this general finding. Five and six year old children gave descriptive answers whereas seven and eight year old children gave analytic answers which demonstrated some knowledge of the plot. On the whole then there is a fair amount of support from this work for the suggestion that the nodal age for comprehension of the film's story is between six and seven years. It is interesting to note that plot comprehension skills do not appear to develop gradually with age since both five and six year olds obtain similar scores, as do both seven and eight year olds. There is a large difference between the six and seven year olds and this could suggest a sudden grasp of a story line as distinct from a gradual development of understanding over time. It should be noted however, that intelligence is an important variable in relation to this point; this aspect will be covered later. A further point of interest is that the girls in the English sample gave significantly more analytic answers than did the boys and this could reflect the fact that girls' cognitive development is more advanced than is boys at these ages.

The children were asked to rate the film as real or not real. This very limited scale appeared to work since children often made fine discriminations within the two scale points, answering "not really real" and so on. The immigrant children rated the film as significantly more real than did English children, perhaps thereby lending some support to the idea that the immigrant children would be less capable than the native English children of distinguishing between reality and fantasy. In the English sample five year old children thought the film to be significantly more real than did eight year old children. This finding supports Gomberg's (1961) work cited in the introduction. However, as far as this film is concerned the scores for the reality assessment decrease gradually with age, and there is apparently no nodal point at about five years as Hartley (1966) would have us believe. Five and six year old English children reported seeing objects not in the film significantly more often than did seven and eight year old children and this could be seen as additional support for the reality-fantasy finding. Within the immigrant sample there were no significant differences between ages for the assessment of the fantasy-reality dimension of the film, nor for the number of objects named that were not in the film, immigrant children of all ages reported seeing objects not shown in the film significantly more often than did English children.

Only a few of the youngest children (immigrants marginally more than English) considered the film to be in any way frightening. The most frightening sequence in the film is where a mousetrap closes on the puppet's hand as he attempts to obtain the cheese bait. Not one child from either sample recalled this occurrence although the children were observed to be watching the sequence intently.

Immigrant children, especially the five and six year olds, assessed the film as being significantly faster than did English children. It is also interesting to note that the immigrant children rated activity higher and evaluation lower than did English children, suggesting that the scales were used in a meaningful way.

Ninety per cent of the English children preferred puppets to child actors and their answers suggested that identification with the puppets had taken place. Immigrant children on the other hand preferred child actors (significantly more so than did English children) and their answers suggest that identification had not taken place. More immigrant children (especially the five year olds) preferred the thin puppet to the fat one, perhaps partly explained by the fact that the thin puppet has a "black" face and the fat puppet a "white" face.

In line with Vernon's (1966) findings it was found that perceptual constancy did not seem to be as well developed in the immigrant sample as it was in the English sample. Most of the English sample reported that there were only two puppets in the film whereas five and six year old immigrant children thought there were more than two puppets. This may suggest that the concept of a "puppet" existing independently from its environment does not develop until seven years for the immigrant child. The immigrant children, particularly the five year olds, also thought that the puppets spoke (the film had only a musical score). They reported this to a greater degree than did the English children. In both samples, the music and the film were equally liked and this could indicate that the two are seen as a single unit (not independently)!

In both samples, the best liked incidents were those which occurred at the end of the film and the second best incidents were those which occurred at the beginning of the film. This finding suggests that short term memory theory is applicable to film recall. As Piaget (1932) has suggested five and six year olds are unable to give "whys of justification" before the cognitive revolution takes place. In view of this, it is interesting to note that the immigrants of this age were better at giving reasons for their answers than were the English children.

The incidents reported as disliked in both samples were those judged by this author as being difficult to comprehend; disliked incidents were fewer in occurrence than were liked incidents although many immigrant children reported disliking the whole film.

Immigrant children were less inclined to think the film had taught them anything than were English children. The same number of English children thought the purpose of the film was positive (to do things) as though it was negative (not to do things). Immigrants however, did not interpret the message in a negative way.

For the English sample individual differences were investigated. Mental age was found to be an important factor in understanding the film as a story. The more intelligent children recalled more sequences in order and fewer incidents than did less intelligent children, intelligence would seem to enable a child to distinguish the "wood from the trees". Less intelligent children rated the film as more real and faster than did more intelligent children but also interpreted the message of the film as positive whereas more intelligent children considered it to be negative. Thus, as might be excepted, less intelligent children seem more inclined to indulge in fantasy and there is a possibility that they may be confused by the quick pace of the film (127 incidents in 14 minutes).

Children classified as gregarious (seven or more friends) as distinct from those classified as isolates (five friends or less) rated the film as being less real, and understood the story more, than did isolates. Isolates perhaps need the fantasy of the film for play purposes more than do gregarious children who can play more with friends. Individual differences in social class, extroversion-introversion, anxiety and amount of television viewing were not found to be related to the various reactions assessed in this study.

When the immigrant children were divided into two groups, those born in England and those born abroad it was found, that as far as the number of sequences recalled in order and general evaluation ratings were concerned, that those born in England evaluated and comprehended the film more like the native English children than like the children not born in England. However, by eight years such differences between the two important groups were no longer apparent and this may indicate that the English school can act as a powerful agency in the socialisation of the immigrant child. There were no significant differences between these two samples for the fear, reality and photograph recognition scores.

Discussion and conclusions

Child development theory is clearly relevant to the study of the child in relation to television. These studies have shown that except for the more intelligent child, comprehension of the story line, when using photograph sequencing tasks, is not possible until seven years (although a more intelligent child is so capable before this age). This comprehension ability seems to coincide with Piaget's (1926) concept of "cognitive revolution" which also occurs at seven years. The most probable causative factor would appear to be the development of "time concepts", and experiments should be carried out to see whether the development of time concepts do coincide with plot comprehension. Another interesting feature of the study is the suddenness with which plot comprehension develops. At five years, the child cannot understand plot when reported verbally, whereas at six years he can.

Further research should systematically investigate the four to seven year olds in great detail to find out if this change develops suddenly, almost like a flash of insight, or gradually over the space of one year.

There is some evidence that reality assessments develop gradually and are no doubt dependent on the needs of the individual. The isolated and introverted child seems to need television to be "real" whereas his opposite does not. This is another pointer for research.

In a very general sense the results from this work support the idea of the individual mediating between stimulus and response. Children modify the stimulus-response chain to meet their own needs as individuals. Research is needed to find out whether they modify the stimulus in terms of misperception or perceptual defence or whether only the response is modified by re-organisation and amendment of memory skills. This could be tested by hypnosis; how many children repressed the mousetrap incident? Was it seen or not seen? Another method of studying this could be to take physiological measures of perception during viewing. Lastly, the differences between the immigrant and English children is interesting both in relation to this study and perhaps more importantly in a wider context. Older immigrants and those born in this country appear to be nearer to the English pattern than do the younger immigrants born abroad. Research is needed to find out how this socialisation assimilation or accommodation takes place, and to study the role of home, school and media in this process. In this connection, wider issues also demand attention e. g. should "special" programmes be directed at immigrant audiences to help them remain unlike or to help them become like the majority. As with wider studies the whole area of what the immigrant brings to the media although a complex one, is worthy of further investigation.

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THE GERMAN REPORT

How do children rate a children's programme that was awarded a prize by an adult jury? What demands are made on their powers of understanding? Does an international comparison bring out national differences?

These are the prime questions in the present study on the Swedish television programme "Patrik and Putrik" which was awarded the "Prix Jeunesse International" in 1966 for children up to 7 years.

The experiment was conducted with 40 children in the rooms of a primary school. The area this primary school serves is a modern residential area in Munich, situated in the south-west outside the heart of the city, but with definite urban characteristics (blocks of flats – some built under the social housing programme – and family houses in detached or row construction). The population is not completely uniform, but is predominantly middle-class.

The children were pupils in their 1st – 3rd year at this school or attended the Kindergarten attached to the school. The group consisted of 20 girls and 20 boys; each school year was represented by 5 girls and 5 boys so that there were about 10 children in each of the age-groups. 5, 6, 7 and 8 years.

The children viewed a black-and-white version of the programme on a Video-Recorder, which in the layman's eyes is completely identical with a television set.

Immediately they had seen "Patrik and Putrik" the children were subjected to structured individual interviews. The interviewers employed were staff members of the Scientific Institute for Youth and Education Problems in Film and Television, Munich, who all had experience with children and test situations of a similar nature.

Procedure was based on a jointly prepared questionnaire that was definitely formulated by the British team. With respect to the basic individual questions and theoretical approaches, reference is made to the British contribution. The following pages will report only on the most important results of the German investigation. A codification of the programme with respect to its individual scenes and their contents and a differentiation of the tested persons according to age and sex, however, cannot lead to a reasonable acceptance or rejection of a hypothesis, because the small number of tested individuals forbids conclusions of any significance. Hence the following results must be taken as probable theses requiring further study on a larger scale.

I. Rating

1. All 40 children said they liked the "Patrik and Putrik" programme. Similarly, ratings on the verbal scale (cf. Osgood) are positive. One single respondent considered the programme "bad", and only a few rated the programme as "sad", "nothing to laugh about" and "boring". With regard to the scale "interessant – uninteressant – langweilig" (interesting – uninteresting – boring) it should be noted that "interessant" seems to be a little-used word among German children, while on the other hand several of the younger children described the programme in other parts of the interviews as "aufregend" (exciting) and "spannend" (gripping, exciting). These words express the opposite of "langweilig" (boring). In answer to the question of what they liked best, on average every child was able to name 1–3 parts of the programme, while the complementary question as to what they did not like was answered by only 6 of the 40 children.
2. The French group carried out an analysis of the content of the programme and subdivided it into 7 main sections and 67 subsections. So the respondents' answers to the question of what they liked best in the programme – some of which refer to quite specific scenes but others being of a more comprehensive nature – can be assigned to the subsections or main sections.

a) The main sections showing the "pastry-making" and the building of the "car" were initially ranked as the favourite sequences of the programme, but after additional questions the "washing-up scene" (at the beginning of the programme) and scenes showing Patrik's and Putrik's lack of success at baking were also mentioned.

The fact that more boys than girls gave a positive rating to the "pastry-making" demonstrates a different distribution of preferences among the sexes than what might have been expected.

b) The detailed answers of the children registered in the 67 subsections reveal the high-lights within the various main sections. Above all, these are sections characterized by comical situations on the one hand and dynamic action on the other. In this connection the children's answers indicate three sequences in which the situation is seen as comical by the children:

The characters become involved with inanimate objects in their surroundings. A perfect example of this is the alarm clock "because the alarm clock rang and when he pressed the knob it was suddenly quite quiet and then it rang again and I liked that a lot" (3rd school year), then falling into the flour bag or over the nail, and also "where the other one was lying in the cookbook" (3rd school year) or "the other one was up on the handle (of the whisk)" (3rd school year).

Another type of action that is found funny is when the characters do something that is not appropriate, for instance, "putting pepper in the pastry instead of sugar" (3rd school year), "because they sleep in the shoes" (2nd school year), "how the one covered the other one with the cloth" (2nd school year), "because that child had the dough on his back" (1st school year) and then also "laid himself down on black paper" (tin) (KG = Kindergarten).

A frequent type of statement, especially among the reasons given by the children is that the characters look comical, both as a direct consequence of a mishap "how the boy lay in the book, because his feet and head were sticking out" (1st school year); how he fell into the flour "because he was all white, that was funny" (2nd school year), and with more direct reference to the characters, i. e. to expressions and pantomime of the little men. Descriptions of this type are relatively frequent, they play a part in the case of the alarm clock struggle "because it wobbled around – also hopped around, fell over" (2nd school year); in the cutting out of the biscuits "the crawling with the dough" (2nd school year) was found funny, in the case of the pepper mishap "because they had to sneeze" (2nd school year); it was funny how Patrik lay on the cook-book and "gazed at the biscuits (so hungrily)" (3rd school year) and how the thin one was hit on the head by a biscuit, "woke up and looked around (astonished) to see what had happened" (1st school year).

Dynamic action is evident and a source of attraction or appreciation especially in the last section of the programme.

In the final section peak ratings are attained by the subsections of the film "making a car" and "driving around". These high ratings which are more clearly apparent in the detailed responses than in the assignment to main sections, are also partly due to comicality of the situation, though – as observations indicate – the latter does not rank so high as in the previous sections. The final section – beginning with the preparations for the failure and carrying on to the failure itself – is the only sequence of the programme in which the action builds up to a small climax, while the other sections follow each other like a series of episodes.

In the final section – although it is relatively short – all the subsections are named among the "best" parts, in many instances with corresponding emphasis on the action elements "one of them wanted to go driving, too, and the other wouldn't let him" (2nd school year); "because it was a car race" (1st school year); "he was roller-skating and then the big one ran after him and sat on it" (3rd school year); "driving around at the end, and the other one always running behind" (3rd school year).

When these favoured parts are related to the age of the respondents, it seems that the younger children tend to rate comical situations more highly, and the older ones action and excitement. The fact that Patrik and Putrik use the badly baked biscuits to make a comical car is regarded as a big success. The thesis that the success of the heroes is wholeheartedly approved by a child audience (cf. Himmelweit 1958) is confirmed by this fact, even though this seems to be contradicted by the finding that the "unsuccessful scenes" are among the favourite sequences. This contradiction could be explained by the overlapping of comical and dynamic scenes with scenes based on identification of the audience with the "heroes" of the programme. Over and above this, the identification thesis is confirmed by the fact that scenes rated highly by the respondents coincide with those activities of Patrik and Putrik in which the children themselves would like to engage.

3. In the names and description used by the children in relation to Patrik and Putrik – they were not familiar with the designation of the programme – we find on the one hand the obvious differentiation according to size and girth, namely the fat one and the thin one (also small and big, tall and thin), and on the other, with a few exceptions, a warm, positive or affectionate type of labelling which stress primarily two characteristics: namely, that the two are funny and that they are small and cute.

   When we collect the "names" in a cross-section of the interviews we find Patrik and Putrik are called: clowns; little gnomes; little puppets; two little men; the little ones; they were not as big as me; children; two hedgehogs; two figures that did funny things.

   In the eyes of most of the children, the puppets (Patrik and Putrik) were "good". If we take into consideration the context in which these answers appear, this qualification is meant more in the moral sense than as a rating of the acting performance. On the one hand the reason given is the merry or cheerful nature of the puppets who get up to tricks and nonsense. This makes it clear how self-evident it is for some children that the funny character, the joker and also the character that acts stupidly is also the good one. On the other hand the good-naturedness of the puppets is directly stressed, "they were so funny and not bad to anybody" (2nd school year); "because they like each other" (2nd school year); each one helped the other" (2nd school year).

   In the answers to the question as to which of the two puppets "they liked best" opinion is divided. Some children have no special preference for either of the two puppets. Where a decision is made, the choice falls more often on the "fat one", who in the opinion of the children is especially comical and active. There seem to be no differences relating to the age and sex of the respondents.

4. How do children rate the fact that the programme is in the form of a puppet play? Almost two-thirds of the children favour the presentation with puppets only, 7 children would have preferred to see "real boys and girls". This clearly indicates that the puppet programme that had just been viewed made a favourable impression.

   Those who favour the puppets emphasize that puppets are funnier, and that this is particularly due to the greater richniss of dramatic variety "because they act so cutely" (3rd school year); "puppets can do everything", and also "some things wrong", in contrast to "proper children" (1st school year).

   Of the 7 children who would have preferred real actors, 6 belonged to the two older groups in the 2nd and 3rd school year and argued against puppets with reasons which can be reduced to the common denominator "not suitable for our age because not true-to-life enough" ("quite nice for children", of course, but now puppets are not "interesting any more", also "a little bit unreal", they "can't speak", with proper actors one can "imagine everything better").

   A slow beginning of an age development unfavorable to puppet play can be noticed.

5. The set of questions dealt with so far is a slow beginning of an age development unfavorable to puppet play can be noticed "absolute" in character in that it was limited to the evaluation of "Patrik and Putrik" alone, without considering how this programme is judged in comparison to other programmes the children like watching. The statements on favourite programmes although by no means precise, nevertheless give some rough indications of the children's home viewing and whether they see more children's or more adult programmes. If crime, feature and western films are included in the adult category, in the case of the groups from kindergarten up to and including the 2nd school year children's programmes still predominate. This would mean that a programme like "Patrik and Putrik" definitely falls within the category these children are accustomed to watch. In the 3rd school year adult programmes outweigh the others.

   Unfortunately, the answers to the comparison questions are so varied that there seems to be no point in making a detailed examination of the results. The request to compare three favourite programmes with "Patrik and Putrik" seems to have been beyond the abilities of almost all respondents. Most of the interviewers could not get through to the end of this group of questions. However, one result is clear and that is that when compared with the named favourite programmes, "Patrik and Putrik" is rated lower than when it is judged on its own.

II. Comprehension

1. When called upon to pick out from 10 pictures the 5 that belonged to "Patrik and Putrik" the performance of the younger respondents was not as good as that of the older ones. Of the pre-school children only 4 were able to make the distinction. With increasing age the task was performed more accurately. In the 3rd school year all respondents found the "right" solution.

   The findings were similar in the test in which the same 5 "Patrik and Putrik" pictures had to be arranged in sequence corresponding to the order in the programme. In fact the overall performance seems to be even worse than in the first test. Only 2 pre-school children were able to solve the problem correctly, while 9 respondents in their 3rd school year were successful in this sequency task.

   The third picture question was: "What do you think the puppets there (for each picture shown) were doing?" With an average 2 to 5 exceptions per picture, the answers may be described, if not as completely "correct" at least as "not wrong". Some children describe the picture situation accurately and limit themselves to that situation alone, others include what happened shortly before or shortly afterwards, and sometimes merely mention the prior or subsequent events.

   When a comparison is made of the results of the 3 picture questions, it becomes evident that a large number of essentially correct answers was given to the third question – in all age groups – while the answers to the first and second picture questions, especially in the lower age groups, included a large number of errors. The most probable explanation seems to be that for a description it is sufficient if one recognizes the pictured situation itself. The connection between this and other situations is unimportant in this case, but decisive for sequence problems. So for the third question the grasping of mere details or small sections, which in the experience of film researchers is characteristic of children prior to starting school and often also during their early schooling, is quite sufficient, while answering sequence questions demands an insight into the context of the action, an ability usually developed around the school-starting age (cf. in this connection M. Keilhacker et al 1967).

2. Three kindergarten children were unable to give the right number of puppets (1 child wrong, 2 no answer). This result demonstrates that even this level of comprehension is not a matter of course for 5 year olds.

All the children were fairly well informed on what things the puppets used; only a few of the things named were wrong. The most frequently named objects were the shoes, then followed biscuits, flour and the various stirring utensils. All in all there was a very broad dispersion of the things mentioned, without any apparent age – or sex-specific differences, except that the number of objects increased with age.

The question "What happened at the end of the programme?" was answered correctly by almost two-thirds of the children. The fact that in the case of this question, too, 6 of the 10 kindergarten children could produce no answer – though this is also true of 3 children in their 2nd school year – might be interpreted to indicate that the term "end of the programme", which presupposes a certain ordering of events – was beyond their comprehension.

A further question relates to "what went wrong in the programme". It presupposes recognition of what the puppets really intended and judgment of the various events in relation to that intention.

As the question itself suggests that something did go wrong, it is not surprising that two-thirds of the children gave an affirmative answer. But when asked to name incidents of this nature, more than half of the kindergarten children were again unable to give an answer.

The affirmative answers also named concrete proceedings (not action connections or motivations) and were concentrated very clearly on two sections:

a) the lack of success with the hard biscuits (here we must include those answers which belong to the second main section, which deal with the mistake made by the "thin one" in going to sleep).

b) the various mishaps during baking.

The comprehension tests so far clearly confirm the hypothesis that younger children understand only part or none of the story of a telecast. In this connection school-entry seems to be particularly important, since pre-school children achieved by far the worst results.

3. A further test demanded a recapitulation of the story of the telecast. In this item a distinction can be made between two types of answer (types of account):

   a) The first type of answer consisted of accounts of a disjointed nature almost always, of isolated facts.

   b) The second type of answer consisted of accounts containing a discernible story or a summary.

   a) In the first type the isolated facts differ widely both in structure, and in their distribution among the various age groups. First, there are lower-order accounts which either contain several descriptions of details – sometimes also in brief sequences – or a laconic statement of a main point. Since there is no sharp border-line between these two forms and this sort of unstructured answer was found almost exclusively among the younger children, we feel justified in classifying the two forms as variants of a type.

   b) In the second type there is another type of statement which, in contrast to those mentioned above, clearly indicates the intention to summarize, mostly with a sentence in the nature of a headline. The additional descriptions or details may be seen then as merely supplementary explanation or illustration of the initial summary statement. This "headline" may be merely descriptive but it may also indicate motivation.

In the accounts which try to keep to the main line of action, almost always sections merely mentioned as such alternate with others that are dressed up with more or less abundant detail.

However, it seems to us to be of greater significance for the type of comprehension to distinguish between accounts containing merely a series of facts and those in which motives are used as links. If we recognize even the statement that the biscuits were "too hard" as the citing of a motive – after all, the appreciation of that unusability constitutes indirect motivation for the carbuilding, and more than the mention of a fact in the sense of a motive can hardly be expected of children up to 8 years. This motive-linked form of account shows an upward trend with increasing age from school-entry onwards. For example, only one 5-year old girl recapitulated the story of the programme in this manner.

In contrast to the answers to all other questions in the interview, in the recapitulation the motive "hunger" is mentioned a number of times, i. e. by 8 children (3 from the 1st and 5 from the 3rd school year), once again more often in the form of a description than by the use of the word. The motive "too hard" was mentioned by 14 children, and so ranks highest statistically. The greater frequency in comparison to "hunger" and also the earlier appearance of "too hard" seems to us to be a good example of the way in which the presentation of motives develops – also in very close connection with their comprehension. The motive "too hard" is tied up with a quite concrete situation and a clearly delimited phase of the action, whereas "hunger" has to be read out of several action phases which are distributed over a whole section of the programme in which, in addition, very little else happens, and this certainly requires a greater capacity for abstraction and integration of visual impressions.

Any connection between the two chief motives, for instance that the little men remained hungry but made a virtue of necessity, i. e. they used the badly baked biscuits to make a comical car, was not mentioned in clear words even in the recapitulations.

In the recall test the pre-school children form a group within themselves. Apart from the already mentioned 5-year-old girl, they either said nothing (2 children), offered isolated details (5 children) – some of which were wrong, e. g. "apple tart", "strawberry tart" as their only answer – or produced long stories in which similarly a lot of wrong things were included among correct details, presumably due to confusion with other programmes (2 children).

On the basis of this recall test it can be assumed that 9 of the 10 kindergarten children did not understand the programme at all, or only in a confused and fragmentary manner. School-entry – the influence of instruction may be perceptible here – is a clearly defined turning point; in the 1st school year half of the children still give fragmentary answers, but the other half are already capable of ordering events along the line of the action. Further development proceeds in the direction of an increase in motivations, in addition to which we find, as a new element, the attempt to summarize the essentials briefly and to use details more to elaborate on the generalizing statement.

When the results of the recall test are compared with the preceding comprehension tests, further confirmation is found for the hypothesis of the age-dependence of comprehension; the caesura between pre-school and school children is more clearly perceptible.

The fact that, roughly speaking, performances were poorer in the recall test than in the recognition tests can perhaps be explained apart from by application of the perception constancy theory (cf. British report) by the small degree of codability of the programme as compared with the pictures (cf. in this connection Brown and Lenneberg 1954).

The question as to whether the puppets spoke was answered by 7 children with "yes". However, these 7 answers are not unequivocal evidence that these children did not perceive whether the puppets spoke or not, for several children supplemented their "yes" by saying that the speech could not be heard. These answers are interesting especially with regard to the children's comprehension of the reality of what was presented; they demonstrate that for these children's decision as to whether the puppets spoke their own experience of speech or a dialogue between the puppets was a more important criterion than the physical perception of having heard nothing.

Furthermore, as far as the reality of the programme is concerned, younger children more frequently ascribe reality to it, while older children more often classify it as "unreal" on the verbal scale. Since this point is of some significance within the overall context or the study, it should possibly be clarified beforehand whether "real-unreal" does not belong to the group of multidimensional concepts, the more abstract meaning of which is understood only with increasing age. (cf. in this connection S. Asch, H. Merlove 1960).

In any case the above result contradicts the result, that, on the other hand, Patrik and Putrik themselves were regarded as puppets and products of the imagination and not as people.

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THE FRENCH REPORT

The French part of the survey was carried out on 40 children selected from two elementary schools in Paris. The sample was equally divided between boys and girls but it was not found possible to keep to the agreed age distribution. The age distribution of children in the sample was as follows:

Age	Girls	Boys
4½	—	1
5	5	2
6	4	3
7	6	7
8	5	4
9	—	3
	20	20

The survey took place in the premises of the Service de la Recherche ORTF. The children viewed the film "Patrik and Putrik" in groups of 5 and they were individually interviewed afterwards

Results

In answer to the question "Did you like the film?" all children gave an affirmative answer. Two or three among the older ones expressed some reservations thus weakening their initial approval. Yves, 8½ years was the most resolute. He declared right a way: "I was told this film got an award, but I would like to have seen all the other films to choose the one that should have won the first prize". He added that he had already seen much more interesting films, Zorro for example. Also Pascal 8½ considers the film just "a little gay" and is of the opinion that the gags at the beginning and in the middle of the film "were not very funny". This critical attitude, added to the fact that the narrations of the older children were much dryer and their commentaries much more concise than those of the younger ones, would set the age limit beyond which the film tends to appear childish, around 7 or 8. The same Yves, 8½ years, thinks that the film would be better for a five year old child than for him.

The answer given by all children to the question "Can you tell me why you liked the film?" was· "because it is funny". No child was able to give further motivations for his appreciation.

Narration of the film

There is a difficulty in coding the story from the children's narrations. This is due to the fact that the level of abstraction in telling the story varies not only from one narrator to the other but from one episode to the other in the narration of any one narrator. The child will once embrace an episode in an abstract formula (for ex.: "they were baking cookies") or will describe in a most detailed way the practical steps of this same sequence ("they took flour, put it into the bowl, they then added water etc.") We can roughly say that the first level of narration shows the extent to which the child has understood the progression of the incidents, has been able to integrate the variety of sequences into the unity of a plot; and the second level shows to which extent the child was able to perceive and to remember the various events, presented on the screen. In this work we have merely analysed the narration by distinguishing two levels of study:
– the narrative progression and the concrete description.

The narrative progression

We considered that a correct narration of the film "Patrik and Putrik" should mention the following sequences, be it in an abstract or concise way:

I Waking up of the sleeping people
II Search for food and failure of the search
III Search for and discovery of a recipe in the book
IV Preparation of the dough
V Baking of cookies or biscuits
VI Taking out of the oven and discovery of the failure
VII Transformation of the cookies into car wheels

The results obtained by coding these sequences are outlined below.

First of all, the sequences mentioned most frequently by all groups of children seem to be those which are the most indispensable to the logicality of the story. They are in order: the preparation of the dough (mentioned by 39 children out of 40) and the transformation of the cookies into car wheels (39/40); the discovery of the failure in the preparation of the cookies (37/40). Then with a clear gap, we have a second group which includes the sequence of the putting into the oven (29/40); the first sequence of the waking up of the puppets (28/40); the search for and discovery of a recipe in a book (24/40). This last named sequence was, in many cases, only partially understood, the children noted the result – (the discovery of a recipe) without necessarily understanding that the puppets had been looking for a recipe in order to make the cookies they wanted to eat. Finally the vain search for food is mentioned only by a third of the children (13/40).

We think that several factors might explain the tendency of the children to leave out this sequence:

a) it is not essential to the logicality of the plot

b) its place at the beginning of the story, at a point where the attention, mobilized by the first picture, begins to slacken and it is not yet stimulated by the interest of the plot.

c) the lack of comical incidents which might anchor it in the memory of the children. The gag of the mouse trap instead of playing this role had exactly the reverse effect. Only one out of 40 children mentions it. We may wonder whether this gag does not cause a slight emotive shock, perhaps producing a repression and the consequent forgetting of the whole sequence in the narration. In any case, no child found it funny or mentioned it among the passages of the film, he liked best.

As could be expected the quality of the narration and particularly the ability to integrate the sequences in a coherent narration varied with the age. Among the youngest (5 and 6 years old) one out of two forgets to mention the initial sequence in the narration; this was also the case for approximately one fifth of the children, age group 7, 8, 9. The trend to omit the sequence of the search for food is also particularly noticeable among the younger children: 13/15 of the 5 and 6 years old, forget it, but only 11/25 of the 7, 8 and 9 years old. However, it must be taken into account that the sequences apparently forgotten by the younger children are those judged to be the least essential to the logicality of the plot. It would be unwise to conclude that they did not understand the story as well as the older ones. We can only say that they are not able to retell it quite as well.

Concrete description

The film was broken down into the 67 incidents as agreed and the responses analysed accordingly. It should be noticed that the most frequently cited incidents in all groups correspond: (a) to the incidents which are most essential for the narrative progression of the film, (b) to the comical incidents which are most appreciated by the children. The analysis of the description made by the children thus coincides with their answers to the other questions in the exercise, which are referred to later in this paper under the heading "comical".

Diverging perceptions or interpretations

A certain number of diverging perceptions – objects or behaviours wrongly identified – could be noticed in the descriptions of the children. Some of them concern details without importance for the comprehension of the film: for example Emile, 8, who defined one of the two puppets as "the one that had something like a bone on its head" does not seem to have understood that it was a hat. Other children seem uncertain about ingredients which played a part in the making of the dough: Jacques, 7, believes that P. falls into a sugar bag. Valerie, 5, has only seen one puppet in the car at the end of the film.

Other mistakes do not come from an erroneous perception but rather from a reconstruction of the sequences, according to what the children consider to be the logical order of actions. For instance Eric, 7, believes that P. first broke the glass of the clock in order to move the hands forward. Two or three of his friends describe the stirring up of the dough with the mixer, although this instrument seems to remain unused during the making of the cakes. We can hardly speak of a mistake in this case: the children just gave the film a logicality which was lacking.

A third category of mistakes is not related to the perception itself but more to the interpretation and the comprehension of the part played by the item or incident in the sequence of events. According to Martine, 6½ years, the egg fell from P's arms and rolls on the table because it contains a chicken on the point of hatching. Only few children (7) understood why P & P after having put the dough into the oven looked together at the clock and why one of them advances the hands while his friend was sleeping. E. g. Sylvie, 7: "He put the hand on the right time"; Pascal, 8½ years: "He was observing the clock but it did not work, so that he put it on a time"; Patrik, 8: they put the hands forward, "so that it would be possible to eat earlier".

It is, by the way, quite possible that some children were embarrassed by the lack of logicality of the script while retelling the story and trying to integrate this sequence into it: if P. cheated on the baking time and advanced the hands of the clock, the cookies which are taken out of the oven should be quite soft and not overcooked. The fact that the cookies were not eatable is actually explained by the children with factors which have nothing to do with their cooking time: for Joel, 8, Jean Daniel, 5½, Chantal, 8, the cookies were a failure because the egg shells fell into the dough. For Martine, 6½ years, the puppets did not manage to eat the cookies because they did not have any teeth. Armand, 7, believes that the puppets tried to eat rubber moulds instead of cookies.

The comical

The answers to five of the questions can be conveniently subsumed under the heading for they cover the children's appreciation of the comical elements of the film. The incidents, most cited in the narration of the film coincide with those, the children judged to be the most comical ones. These are:

1. Fight with the clock
2. Buried in the book
3. Buried in the flour
4. P. hangs on the handle of the mixer
5. The dough is nailed to the floor
6. P. lying on the dough to draw the "little man"
7. Take the hammer to break the cookies
8. Transformation of the cookies into car wheels.

On the whole the children have thus considered comical the obstacles or failures which held the heroes in check (1, 2, 3, 4) and the mechanical contraption which enabled them to triumph (5, 6, 7, 8). In other words, those incidents which unduly slowed down or accelerated the narration.

Differences of perception between what may be termed the narrative and comical level of certain elements work, so to speak, to the disadvantage of the comical in the following cases:

> mimicries of interpretation which are intended to make the sequence of events understandable (mimicries for hunger)
>
> gestures which signify a mental error (try to eat the cake in the book, let the shell fall into the dough, use pepper instead of sugar)
>
> gestures which are directed by an implicit intention (hand advanced on the clock). The children can scarcely understand the comicality of intention.

They see in these anomalies or "mental breaks" either regrettable mistakes (he made a mistake, it cannot be done like that) or an aggressive wickedness of one of the puppets toward the other ("P. threw the cookie on the head of the other P.").

It seems that the incidents which were considered to be comical gags have a certain redundancy in common: first of all the gag, judged comical (at the time when the child tells it) always ends well, that is to say corresponds to a certain "usefulness standard" conforming to the narration axis:

> The clock is stopped
> the hero comes out of the book or of the flour
> the hero is unhooked from the handle of the mixer
> the dough is flattened off.

The children seem unable or unwilling to see as comical the irreparable breaks – either (a) because the damage cannot be undone (put the shell into the dough, try to bite into a too hard cookie, sleep in a shoe (this detail was not considered to be comical) or (b) because they hurt: in the sequence of the finger in the mousetrap we can note an absence of comicality which has a quite ambiguous origin: it seems that the child is estranged from a comicality where the mechanical break would involve a "real" or radical break.

On the global and mechanical level of perception it seems possible to identify certain cases of "too much" laughter: the "violent" perception of a comical situation makes the subject momentarily blind to ensuing comical situations. The group which strongly laughed at the alarm-clock gag (girls 5, 6 and 7 years and boys 7 years old) does not laugh so much for the next gag (book falls on the two puppets) as if the initial perception produced some break. On the other hand those who did not laugh at the gag of the alarm clock (boys and girls of 8 years) do laugh considerably at the gag of the puppets buried under the book. This may suggest a tentative hypothesis of rythmical strokes in comical perception.

What you did not like in the film

The great majority of the children answered the question without showing much discrimination. They liked everything, there was nothing they disliked. Only 6 of the interviewed children expressed some reservation, in four cases there was a moralizing character in these reservations; Jean-Daniel, 5½ years, seemed not to appreciate the fact that the puppets do so many foolish things; Serge, 5½ years, Yvan, 4½ years and Florence, 8, do not approve the final sequence; first of all "a shoe is not intended to become a car, you have to wear it on your foot", "then they will get tummy aches, turning too fast on the carpet and they give the audience headaches". Yves, 8½ years, finally, whose recalcitrant attitude towards the whole film has already been noted, complained about the absence of dialogue.

End of the film

The moralizing comments which we have just noted can be found again in similar form in the answers to the questions about the end of the film and about the good (or bad) ideas of the puppets. The children seem to have expected, especially at the end of the film, some kind of catastrophe that would punish righteously the foolishness of the puppets. According to Eric, 7, "they turned so fast that they got dizzy; the car ran so fast that is clashed; maybe they get killed". Eric would have preferred to see the puppets stop and get out of the car. The same for Armand, 7, "at the end they bump into the chairs, the furniture and cannot manage to stop"; Valerie, 5, feared that the second puppet might build another car and drive after the first one, "they would then have a shoe accident" (sic). François, 7½ years, remarks that "they threw everything on the floor and then they forgot to put the book back ... they rolled on the floor with wheels" which might even leave some traces and then changed the place of the shoes ...

All these are indications that the children are only partially satisfied with the end of the film. At least, the ending does not appear to answer all the questions they are asking themselves. They do not have the impression that the film ends in perfect order with scenes of relaxed and happy euphoria. On the contrary, they seem to think that the film ended on the climax of a crisis, leaving them the choice to guess an end which, in any case, is alarming. According to François, 7½ years, "it was better to stop the film there, because otherwise they would have done more foolish things". Monique is of the opinion that "they should have eaten and then slept"; according to Philippe, 9, "they should have gone to sleep". Jacques, 7, would have liked to see them "drive a little in the car and then eat the cookies in the oven".

The puppets

With one or two exceptions all the children gave a positive answer to the question which sought to ascertain whether or not they liked the puppets in the film. Let us quote these exceptions which are really remarkable for their moralizing character. According to Valerie, 5, the puppets are not very nice because they do not obey their mother, "because they ruin the shoes of their parents, waste flour and tear the recipe book."

The same desire to moralize inspires the opposite position of Hervé, 7½ years, who becomes the advocate of the two puppets; "they are nice because they did not do anything bad, because they did not steal. That was their kitchen and their books too". The question whether they like one puppet better than the other was answered negatively by approximately half of the children. Two or three choose the taller and the thinner. Sophie, 7½ years, did not like "the little fat one" because he hit a nail and that made the other one fall down; when he opened the oven he let it fall on the head of the other one. All the other children (around 15) are in favour of the "small fat" puppet. The reasons given for this preference all converge. The puppet which is qualified as small and fat is found to be funny in the most likeable way because it takes the initiative most of the time, be it good or bad and because he suffers the most mishaps which are not too important. Yves, 8½ years, "I preferred the gay one, the one who did more foolish things". Emanuelle, 6, declares "he is nicer because he found a lot of things, because he nearly always made the cake, put the plate into the oven, ate right away and made a car ... the other one slept instead of watching the cake and did not have the idea of making a car".

The uncertainty about the social and familiar bonds between Patrik and Putrik and about their status in the house they occupy seemed to trouble some of the children. Herve, 7½ years, could not find any answer to the question "What do you think that these puppets are? Are they brothers or friends?" Pascal, 8½ years, thinks that they are brothers, "because they slept together". According to Eric, 7, "they were brothers and made a cake for their mother", Paul-Emile, 8, "they are friends who live together in a house, they came, they found a house, and then..."

According to Armand, 7, "they lived in the same house because they were very small; the apartment would have been too big for just one; they were alone because nobody took them as their children; they did not have any father or mother, anybody to take care of them". To the question "What would have been a good end for the film?" Armand answers "they should have had parents".

Among the children who recognized two brothers of a different age in the puppets, the younger children seem to identify themselves with the small and fat one, who is seen as the younger brother. They even see him as being a charge of or as the scapegoat for the elder brother. Martine, 6½ years: "the fat one was nice but the other one was not, because his brother told him not to turn the pages and he turned them on him while the nice one was reading". Serge, 5½ years, "the other one is the big brother and the big brother, he did not take care of the little baby".

Language of the puppets

The answers to this question show that although the children would rather see films complete with sound track, they quickly gain an understanding of the rules of silent films. One or two seem to think that the puppets are dumb and communicate with gestures but most of them have well understood that the puppets talk together although the audience cannot hear what they say. The examples they give for what might have been said are quite unimportant. They are all phrases explaining the main sequences of the plot and do not add anything to the story telling or to the aforementioned comments. "They talked about getting flour, the book"; "they said they wanted to make a cake, they should stop the clock"; "do not fall into the dough"; "make the cake instead of fooling around"; "give me the rolling pin" etc.

The music

The children were asked if they liked the music in the film but the results obtained from the answer to this question were really disappointing. The children just said that they liked the music. They do not express any further comments.

Puppets or real actors?

The question as to whether the characters in the film were puppets or real actors did not capture the attention of the children as could have been expected. We shall also see later that on the whole they are unable to give reasons for their preferences.

Half of the children prefer puppets. We probably have to take into account that the children are influenced by the fact that they have just seen the film "P & P". They are thus inclined to accentuate their preference for the puppet films. It remains that the reasons they find to justify their choice are of a very general nature. Armand, 7, prefers puppets "because they are smaller and cuter"; Françoise, 7½ years, "because they are funnier than real children, because they make more crazy things, because they make more gestures and also because they are funnier with their clothes and their hair". Sylvie, 7, "because puppets fool around more, whereas children make less things and when they are people it is less amusing and it is sadder. It makes me cry and dream at night". Hervé, 7½ years, "because it is relaxing; it makes unreal things and instead of learning things and putting them into our heads as if we were working, it is relaxing for us".

One third of the children would have preferred a film with real actors. They consider the puppets as bad substitutes, stiff, dumb, not good and complete enough to be human. Sophie, 5, Catherine, 7½ years, Yves, 8½ years, prefer real living persons because they can talk. Emanuelle, 6, because "they make better gestures"; Marie-Claude, 7½ years, "because they play their part better". Philippe, 6½ years, also remarks that the puppets can practically do nothing "because puppets are made out of wood"; Serge, 5½, explains "I am not interested in clowns as puppets, because they are only false clowns. But I like real clowns very much"; finally Jacques, 7, likes films, played by real children because then "these stories are stories of living people".

Three children say that they do not have any preferences. Five children did not answer or gave an answer which we could not interpret.

When asked if they would like to imitate the puppets, the reactions of the children were not highly differentiated. The children are torn between the desire to imitate the puppets, e. g. to make cookies and toys, and the certainty that if they do they will meet the opposition of their parents.

For certain children, the desire to imitate the puppets seems to be stronger. Eric, 7, would like to make cookies because it is funny and they are good to eat; he would also like to make a car with shoes because it is funny and drives fast. Patrik, 9, would like to imitate the puppets not only in making cakes but also in sleeping long like them.

Other children only consider the negative aspects of the puppets actions: Valerie, 5, would not like to imitate "because it is not nice what they did". Marie-Claude, 7½ years, is equally severe: "I would not like to do what they do: they sleep in a shoe, lay on the dough, make a car out of a shoe".

Finally, other children fear the reactions of their mothers. According to François, 7½ years, "what would happen is, that Mummy would be angry. She would say, well you should see what you look like! And I will have to clean the whole house". According to Florence, 8, "Mummy would not let me do, I would have to be older. She would scold me. I would get a punishment. Mummy might not have enough sugar and flour: and for me she would certainly not buy any!" According to Monique, 8, "that would be dirty". "I would waste money and food".

Let us conclude once more that the answers to this question reveal a very strong tendency to take a moralizing attitude towards the film or at least to do so in front of the interviewer.

The question "What do you think that the producers were trying to teach or tell you?" seems to have confused most of the children. The interviewer was obliged very often to repeat, develop, reformulate the question before the child could understand what he was being asked. Even then, only a third of the children was able to give an intelligible answer.

Four of them think that the people who made the film wanted to make them laugh. Four others think that the authors wanted to give them practical advice: "How to cook" (Serge, 5½ years). "How to bake cakes (Emmanuelle, 6); "not to leave cookies too long in the oven" (Laurent, 9). "To use old shoes to put puppets in them" (Monique, 8); "to get back old shoes to make cars out of them" (Armand, 7).

Five others, of the eldest group, have seen in the film a moral lesson. According to Françoise, 7½ years, "they have tried to tell me, not to fool around, like the puppets did, and that it is better not to cook before learning to, because otherwise one makes a big mess". "I would probably do exactly the same thing as the puppets if I tried to make cookies".

Concluding comment

The French team is quite conscious of the fragmentary, hazardous and provisional character of the interpretations and hypotheses which have been made. However, it is felt that one definite conclusion can be put forward i. e. that the jury of the Prix Jeunesse was not wrong choosing Patrik and Putrik. The reactions of the children to this film are almost unanimously favourable for the girls as well as for the boys. It seems that 5 years is the age limit under which the film should not be shown; a five year old child laughs at "Patrik and Putrik" but does not understand much of it. It seems, on the other hand, that 9 years is the upper age limit beyond which the film might be considered childish. The ideal age for understanding and appreciating the comical nature of "Patrik and Putrik" can be set around 7.

Violette Morin, M. C. Bremond, Annette Suffert

THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPORT

The film was liked by all the children for the overriding reasons, repeated at several places in the exercise, that it was funny or comical. Some children did mention concrete items. Generally, the children were unable to evaluate along fast-slow, real-unreal dimensions and 75% of them did not feel that they had learned anything from the film.

The children experienced some difficulty in responding to the request to "tell the story of the film". On the whole, they were able to recall some episodes and sequences but seemed to miss the message of the programme. The turning of the shoe into a car, the alarm clock sequence at the start and the puppet falling into the flour bag were spontaneously recalled.

With the help of the interviewers who worked through the contents with the children the undermentioned came out as the most remembered episodes or sequences. Mentioned by 80% of the children: P. hanging on the whisk cries for help; P. tries to taste the cake; P & P drive through the flat to and fro. Mentioned by 70% of the children – the alarm clock dances to and fro; P. tries to stop the ringing of the alarm clock. Kick – the alarm clock rings. P. wants to take some flour, falls in the bag; nail dough with a hammer on the board; P. nails the cooky on a shoe, where already three others are fixed.

What the children liked best

When asked what they liked best in the film the children gave first place to the car episode (variously described). Falling in the flour bag came second. The reasons given for such choices invariably related to "funny" or "comical", again variously expressed.

When asked if they had any dislikes in the film, 50% of the children said that they liked everything, but some children did not like the "stuck in the book" episode and others the long ringing of the alarm clock. This last named dislike was apparently associated with unpleasant early morning experiences at home and the possible destruction of a book seemed to be behind the other dislike. Four children referred to the mousetrap incident but it seems unlikely that they fully appreciated the nature of this contraption.

The number of puppets in the film was correctly perceived and 29 of the 30 children thought they were "good". The children had difficulty, however, in clearly distinguishing between the two puppets; obviously they did not see them as being clearly and expressively characterized. In retelling the story the children frequently confused the two; when they were made distinctions were usually in terms of "fat" and "thin" with a slight preference being expressed for the "fat one".

There was almost an equal split in the answers to the question whether real children would have been preferred to the puppets. "Fun" underpinned the preference for the puppets but the older children who preferred real children were obviously looking for something more life like, credible or complete. Boys seemed more inclined than girls to emulate the puppets with cars and driving being to the forefront in their answers. The children, on the whole, seemed to realise that if they behaved like the puppets in the film they might well incur the displeasure of mummy.

Twenty eight of the 30 children correctly stated that the puppets did not speak. Some of the children said that the music spoke for them although six children did not notice the music at all. Most of the children seemed to like the music, again because it was funny.

Twenty eight children also correctly perceived that things went wrong for the puppets, more than half of these mentioning the last phase in the cooking sequence. Some of the children perceived that the cooking had gone wrong from the beginning. Only 3 children were interested in finding excuses for the puppets.

Gay and informative

When asked what happened at the end of the film two-third of the children correctly placed the final car episode, but the other one-third seemed to miss the idea of the ending altogether. There was a general approval of the way the film ended, again because it was a funny ending, although from the figures it is clear that some of those voicing approval to this question must have answered "Don't know" to the earlier one asking "What happened at the end?" There was more disapproval with the older children apparently because they were disappointed that it was over and wanted more.

Although the children did not seem to think that they had learned anything from the film over 50% considered that those who had made the film had wanted to put something across (teach or inform) to the children in the film. Once again the funny, comical element predominates over all the others. "They wanted us to laugh" being a typical answer.

Third on the list of favourites

In selecting the photographs representing scenes in the film from a collection of photographs which included scenes from other puppet-films, there was a reasonably high degree of success. However, this was not the case in the sequencing task. It is suggested that the children were not able to remember the simple story of the film because of the confusion caused by the excess of gags or jokes. Perhaps not surprisingly, the children seemed to find it easier to identify the correct start and finish to the film than they did to identify the sequence of the intervening episodes. But their descriptions of the first photograph were not particularly accurate. In fact, although some photographs were described with more accuracy than others the overall level of accuracy was not very high, there being slightly more inaccurate descriptions than accurate ones. The final car and the recipe book episodes received most accurate descriptions, but the changing of the clock hands apparently produced great confusion. The whisk, alarm clock, bowl, cake tin, shoe, egg and rolling pin in that order, received most mentions as being objects used in the film.

When the children were asked to compare "Patrik and Putrik" with their favourite television programme, there was a clear preference for the favourite television programme. The same relationship held even for their second favourite programme.

Milos Volf

THE AMERICAN REPORT

The American section of the cross-national research project of the responses of children to the prize-winning "Patrik and Putrik" television program was carried out in mid-November of 1967. The revised instructions provided by Prof. J. D. Halloran of the Centre for Mass Communication Research of the University of Leicester were followed, and every effort was made to parallel the English study as closely as possible. As a result two elementary schools were selected, and a sample of forty children tested in each school. One school is an inner-city school serving a predominantly Negro section of the community, the second is from a contiguous suburban community and serves a predominantly white population. Five boys and five girls were selected at each of the four age levels 5–8, as prescribed. All children tested in the city school were Negro. The filming and the interviewing was carried out in the schools proper in separate rooms provided for the purpose. The film "Patrik and Putrik" was projected onto a small screen, the visual image held to the dimensions of a television set. The children watched the program from in front of the screen at a distance comparable to that found in viewing television. Immediately following the filming, each child was interviewed, following the revised schedule adopted for the study. Eight interviewers participated, four male, four female, all university students except for the author. All were trained for the specific task.

Background information

Viewed socio-economically, both schools serve heterogeneous populations. Judging from the occupations reported by the children, both schools are predominantly working class, with the percentage higher for the city school (80%) than for the suburban (65%). Sixty and sixty-eight per cent of the children respectively aspire to occupations other than those of the parents, but many of these preferences are characteristically juvenile and will undoubtedly change. The city children come from larger families, averaging one more child per family (4.5 to 3.3). Seven out of ten children in both groups report having more than one TV set at home, although inquiry reveals that in the city homes, the second set is often not in working condition. The city children are the more gregarious and are heavier viewers, (both statistically significant), both in nights and hours of viewing reported. The number of days per week of viewing is probably a more dependable statistic than the children's estimates of the hours of viewing, for more often than not they gave only the vaguest estimate of amount of time in contrast with a definite: I watch every day; or nearly every day. Eighty per cent of the city children report daily viewing compared with 65 per cent in the suburban school. The older children in both groups report seeing some television at school.

Equal numbers of children have their bedtimes prior to and later than 8.00 p. m. and here a not surprisingly statistically significant difference occurs between younger (5–6) and older children (7–8). One-third to one-half of the children report that television affects their bedtime.

Results

The frequency distributions of the responses of the children were assessed and are reported in separate tables. Where appropriate, chi square or t tests were applied to test the significance of differences. Perhaps the most striking observation is the similarities in response patterns rather than the differences. As a result, the data are most useful as a description of child response to this particular program, although they also provide certain corroborations of earlier findings. In view of the fact that the two samples in this study responded similarly, both sets of data are discussed rather than reporting each separately. Full details of both samples can be obtained from the full report.

Preferences

The children were unanimous in saying they liked "Patrik and Putrik" and liked the musical accompaniment to the program. But one of the investigators points out that when the children are shown a film in isolation they are more likely to report enthusiasm than when asked to make comparison with normal media preferences. That this is the case with these children will be seen subsequently in their evaluation. When asked for particular reasons for liking the program or the music, responses tend to be vague. Asked which puppet they preferred, a majority of both samples selected the fat one, for reasons both vague and varied. Similar responses occurred when asked what they disliked about the thin one. The children preferred the puppet performers to children because they were "funny". Undoubtedly, one condition which limits the capacity of the children to be more specific about their likes and dislikes is the low recall of program content. One noticeable difference in the two samples was the greater spontaneity and manifest laughter and comments made by the city children while viewing the program.

Cognitive

Recall of incidents was low, both schools averaging roughly 12 of a possible 67. Predictably, the older children recalled more than the younger, but even here a bare twenty per cent of the program content. Recall of the seven major sequences was moderate, ranging from 3.4 at the youngest ages to 5.6 at the oldest. A noticeable reduction of error in proper sequence of recall occurred with increase in age. The two major sequences most frequently overlooked were the hunger episode and the baking episode. The children recalled the opening and closing sequence (80%) but not those adjacent to them.

Recollection of the number of puppets was near perfect, but only half the children perceived the problems the puppets had with things going wrong. Again half thought they had learned something, but 80–90% of the two groups couldn't recall anything they had learned. Picture recognition was high, with four out of five pictures identified, and on the average only one picture being placed out of order. In describing the action of the program aided with still-pictures as stimuli, nearly all of the children responded correctly. The exception was Picture A on which 20 per cent of the children erred. Again, corroborating the low spontaneous recall of the program content, the naming of items used by the puppets was low (Mean score: 4.4).

Evaluation

In responding to the abbreviated Semantic Differential both groups of children classified "Patrik and Putrik" as Very Good, Not Real (60%), Very Interesting and Not Frightening (94%). Statistically significant difference occurred with the city children labelling the program Very Happy as opposed to Happy, and Funny as opposed to Very Funny, more significantly, Slow as opposed to Fast. Again both groups of children saw the puppets as good, but the city children were more specific in giving reasons. As reported, both groups were equally vague about why they preferred the fat puppet and were even vaguer in their reasons for disliking the thin one. The children liked the film ending with suburban children more enthusiastic. This was confirmed by their spontaneous behavior during viewing, but again they were unable to express specific reasons. In general, television receives near unanimous endorsement from these children with 95% reporting they like it a lot or very much.

When asked to compare "Patrik and Putrik" with their favorite program, approximately two out of three stated it was as good or better than their favorite programs but less than half the sample rated it as actually better.

However, a review of their rankings, comparing the first, second, and third favorite programs show little progression in percentages. If two-thirds like it as well as their favorite, one would expect an increase in comparison with less-preferred favorites. But this does not occur. Quite possibly, these young children have not subdivided their favorites by degree, like vintage wines, although most were rather definite about their favorite. An impression difficult to verify is that the favorable rating is a general one and derives from a novelty effect. American children see very few puppets on the commercial television stations, and none of the type found in "Patrik and Putrik".

Age differences

When younger children (Age 5 and 6) are compared with the older (Age 7 and 8) one finds little difference in their liking of "Patrik and Putrik". The younger children tend to see the program as being faster and to see it as real, but it would be misleading to attribute such a perception to a fantasy-reality dimension. Young children will ascribe "real" to object that move and think stationary objects "not-real". Again things which are edible will be called "real" by some children and the inedible "not-real". This use of terms can mask conceptual developments as much as perceptual. In Section VIII where the film was compared with favorites, one finds no statistically significant age differences.

The differences which do occur are those which can be anticipated in the cognitive area. One finds a steady gain in both boys and girls in free recall of the incidents, of sequences, and in proper order of sequence and a decrease in error score in misplaced sequences. The differences in number of incidents reported under free recall is statistically significant for both boys (p. 01) and girls (p. 05). Age differences in total score are statistically significant at the .001 level. Part scores were significant at .05 and .01 level.

Sex differences

The statistical significance of differences in response by sex was not systematically checked. In specific instances differences by sex are observed at a given age in a particular school. However, these differences either disappear when ages are combined or those that remain, reflect no consistent pattern.

Conclusions

The qualitative evaluations rendered by the children indicate that the producers of "Patrik and Putrik" provide a program to which children respond positively. However, if they had a choice to make between this and a favorite program, the majority would choose the latter. The fact that a jury of adult judges awarded a first prize in international competition to this program suggests either that adults and children apply different standards in evaluating the merits of a program, or that the comparative bases are different. Where the adults lacked an established standard i. e. a favorite children's program, they had the relative standard provided by the other entries in the competition. Resolution of the question is important, because in one case a jury of children would be selected to judge the program, in the other few prizes would be given until the calibre of television programs for children improved.

Ralph Garry

REPORTS ON INTERNATIONAL EVALUATIONS
OF CHILDREN'S REACTIONS TO THE
CZECHOSLOVAK TELEVISION PROGRAMME

CLOWN FERDL

CONDUCTED IN GERMANY, FRANCE, GREAT BRITAIN, CZECHOSLOVAKIA,
AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Compiled and introduced
by
Martin Keilhacker
Wissenschaftliches Institut für Jugend- und Bildungsfragen
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INTRODUCTION

1) General remarks

Like J. D. Halloran in his "Introduction" to the evaluation of "Patrik und Putrik", I consider comparative analyses of the reactions of children from different countries to the same television broadcast to be as important as they are difficult. Such an enterprise can only lead to satisfactory results in the course of a number of attempts in which the research methods are adapted to difficulties as they arise, but there is no doubt about the need for such work. The Prix Jeunesse can only produce good results if there are not only opinions available, but also hard facts as to whether and to what extent programmes which have received Prix Jeunesse awards are really understood, positively appraised, and included in their existing world of experience by children or youths in the age-groups for which they are intended. This calls for pertinent research not only in one, but – in the course of time – in as many possible of the countries in which the programmes are intended to be shown.

After a first research project whose subject was the programme "Patrik und Putrik" (for children up to 7 years) by five scientific teams (froms France, Britain, the USA, Czechoslovakia, and the Federal Rerpublic of Germany) on which there is a detailed report in the first part of this publication, the same five teams were chosen for a second evalution of the Czechoslovakian television film "Clown Ferdl" (age-group 8–12), which had won a "Special Award" in the 1966 competition. A decisive consideration in the choice of this film for scientific research purposes was the fact that – like "Patrik und Putrik" – "Clown Ferdl" is a puppet play in which the puppets act without speaking so that the difficulties involved in synchronization and linguistic misunderstandings are eliminaed.

Choice of the methods

Whereas, in the case of "Patrik und Putrik", the five teams each evaluated the reactions of forty children of their own particular country, in the case of "Clown Ferdl" the number of children to be investigated was raised to 100 – twenty children (ten boys and ten girls) in each age level from 8 to 12. Thus the study was given a considerably broader basis, and the reliability of the results correspondingly increased. In practice the individual teams could not always adhere strictly to the figures given, but this did not result in any considerable weakening of the study as a whole. The understandable wish to include much larger numbers of children in the tests had to be postponed for the time being for reasons relating to method and working techniques.

The decisive point as far as results of such studies are concerned is the choice of the most suitable methods which, on the one hand, make it possible to discover and record as accurately as possible the reactions of children to a particular television broadcast, and, on the other hand, can be used successfully in different countries without the various scientific teams being able to be in constant touch with one another.

In the course of studies carried out in the "Child and Film" sphere, which is severeal decades older that the sphere "Child and Television", many methods were developed and tried out in practice which were partly based on earlier methods developed in child psychology and partly worked out specially for the "Child and Film" studies. They were, above all, psychology of expression methods, wiggle test, the observation of behaviour during and after the film show, oral and drawn descriptions of films seen, the inclusion of film experiences in the children's games, individual interviews and group discussions. But these methods were never applied for simultaneous, strictly comparative tests in several countries; there were thus no precedents which could have been copied.

After several joint discussions, in which, however, not all the teams could always participate, and correspondence and telephone conversations to bridge the gaps, the teams agreed on a

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research method for the project "Patrik und Putrik", and then for the project "Clown Ferdl"; this took the form of individual interviews of the children by interviewers who had both experience in dealing with children and in the art of interviewing.

In general it can be reckoned that the experiences of children can be better and more accurately judged the more freedom the children have to express themselves in activities and in a degree of spontaneity in keeping with their age: in mime, gestures, actions, spontaneous oral explanations, etc., – and this applies all the more the younger the children are. But precisely this sort of spontaneous utterance is difficult to record objectively and is thus not very suitable for comparative studies in various countries. The questioning of children by adults, on the other hand can be more objectivized and standardized, and is therefore more suitable for comparative studies. Difficulties arise, however, in the questioning of children by adults which must be carefully considered and taken into consideration: there is, above all, the danger of limiting the child's spontaneity, the danger of asking questions above the children's heads – or of underestimating them – of putting the children off by the way in which the questions are asked and thus making them withdraw into themselves, or of causing them to give mainly mechanical or schematic answers.

Thus the questioning of children by adults for the purpose comparative scientific studies can be nothing but a compromise. The desire for as great a degree of standardization as possible to facilitate comparison is naturally limited by the necessity to restrict the children's activity and spontaneity as little as possible. Standardization does increase the possibility of comparing the results of the work with one another – also in different countries – but only at the cost of the genuineness and variety of the children's experiences.

The procedure followed for questioning the children after the showing of "Clown Ferdl" can be seen from the individual reports and from the contents of the "appendix", and in particular from the questionnaire with its questions and instructions. It should be noted that in carrying out the study the various teams were – due to local conditions – not always able to adhere absolutely to the procedure jointly agreed upon, but that they did so as far as possible and in all the essential points, so that although the comparableness suffers in one or two points it is not spoilt as a whole. In order to make the approximately half-hour task as easygoing as possible for the children and to give them a chance for their own activity and spontaneity, the filling in of the clown's "list of characteristics" (see "appendix"), the rating test, as well as the selection and arrangement of the photos from the programme were included in the interview.

Problems of evaluation

Difficulties similar to those met with in the questioning of the children by the interviewer are encountered in the scientific evaluation of the results of the interviews. On the one hand, it is necessary that the scientific teams from the various countries standardize their evaluation technique as much as possible so that the results can be compared with one another, but on the other hand the individual teams must be given as much lattitude as possible so that the differences between the children of the various countries can be fully allowed for. Otherwise extremely valuable results which primarily concern the national characteristics would be lost; it is, after all, not only the things that the children have in common that are important – the differences are just as important. In the setting up of guiding principles for the joint evaluation it is also impossible precisely to foresee what deviations from the common principles will be necessary in order to enable new questions which crop up during the interviewing, and also unexpected results, to be dealt with in a unified way – unless every interview and every evaluation could be repeatedly carried out with different groups of children from the same country, a solution which has not yet proved feasible.

An important, basic question, too, is whether the studies should be carried out primarily with a view to verifying already known scientific hypotheses of child and youth psychology, sociology, etc. with, at the same time the intention of working out new scientific hypotheses, or whether such scientific inquiries with systematic aims should be kept more in the background. From the point of view of scientific work it is undoubtedly necessary to approach the studies with clear, scientifically sound conceptions, and in the interests of scientific systematics it is also desirable to fit the studies into the overall pattern of the scientific studies in the relevant spheres. In the field of "child and television", however, scientific research is still so much in its beginnings, that, apart from completely general and a few specialized questions, there is scarcely any possibility of fitting it into an already existing pattern. In this case – in such an unexplored field as "child and television" – the scientist must, in my opinion, know as far as possible all the results and hypotheses of relevant studies, but above all must be open-minded for all new results and questions – including those of ad hoc studies which by no means rarely produce specially interesting and unexpected results – in order thus gradually to gain a comprehensive grasp of the kind of problems that occur or are likely to crop up. The framing of hypotheses is none the less interesting, but does not take first place. In the study at present under consideration – "Clown Ferdl" – the various teams took up very different attitudes with regard to the formulation and verification of hypotheses. The British team placed most value on this aspect, whereas some of the teams almost completely disregarded it.

Despite all the difficulties outlined above, it can be said on the whole that the individual teams achieved valuable results which to a large extent are suitable for purposes of comparison and which will undoubtedly prove of great service in the further fruitful pursuit of the studies.

2) Comparative results

a) General rating

There are comparative figures from all the groups as to the general rating, and they all amount to the conclusion that the programme was liked but was not rated among the most popular programmes. The average rating on a five-level scale was second place.

The American, British, and French reports expressly refer to age differences – the 8/9 year olds give a more favourable rating than the older children. A similar tendency can be discovered in the Czechoslovakian table and the ratings given by the German children; but – according to the German calculation – differences do not rearch statistical significance (t-test).

The American and English groups establish 1) that the programme would hardly have been given a prize by their samples, and 2) that it is more suited for 8/9 year olds than for older children.

As far as the question of suitability for certain ages is concerned it is worth considering whether averages do not obscure interesting nuances. It is true that a number of pointers to be found in various places in the individual reports make it clear that some of the older children were vigorously against the film and that these children not only rated "Clown Ferdl" as low as possible, but also gave answers in the course of the interviews which indicate rejection of the programme – often expressed in passive resistance. On the other hand, however, in the case of such a many-levelled programme as the one under consideration, which can be understood and evaluated at various levels, it can be expected that a more unified rating will be given by the younger rather than by the older children. Apart from the tendency for younger children to give high ratings – a point made in the French report – younger children primarily judge according to the action, whereas, as the age increases and performance begins to be taken into consideration, the rating becomes a more complex process and thus at the same time less unified. Some of the older children gave the programme a favourable rating, giving reasons related to elements and characteristics of the programme which were practically non-existent for the younger children or at least not interesting.

b) The Clown

The comparison of the perceptions of a clown which the children had before and after seeing the programme (Clowns I and II) brought similar results in all the reports in so far as the changes were clearly in favour of Clown II, or, as the English Study put it, a change took place from a cliché-like conception of a clown to one of a clown as a human being (p. 74). (As far as the comparative results are concerned it should be added that in the repetition of the task – Clown II – the English and American studies again simply referred to a clown in general, while in the Czech and German studies the "clown in the programme" was inquired after.) – There were only slight differences registered in the attitude of the American children towards the clown, but also in the clown's favour. R. Garry recalls the point that the influence of television is greater the more naive the viewer, and goes on to say in reference to his sample: "Children have sufficient experience to have an established perception of clowns".

The English and the German teams endeavoured to arrive at a systematic order for the adjectives presented for selection: the English being based on the Osgood classification, the German on factorial analysis; both showed similar results – a shift towards a more positive rating. Similar results can be seen in the Czechoslovakian table.

It can be said on the basis of these results that the makers of this film succeeded in creating a character whose positive human characteristics were perceived by the children even if they were not identical with the already existing perceptions of a clown. Here is should be stressed that it was a puppet which had this effect. – In how far "Clown Ferdl" took up a permanent place in the general perceptions of a clown could only be ascertained by a further study with the same sample.

The question of the dependence of the perception of a clown on age was posed in the American, English, and German studies with varying results, and also with various approaches. While the German Clowns I and II are investigated separately, and, with the exception of one or two of 32 characteristics, no dependence on age is discovered, the American results, although also showing that there was no dependence on age, were based on the shift between Clowns I and II. The English study, on the other hand, reveals dependence on age, and endeavours to interpret this in connection with stages of mental development between 8 and 12, taking Piaget's work into account.

c) Receptivity

Precisely because of their varying theorectical and methodical approaches, the studies as a whole are an interesting contribution towards a further understanding of the mental development of children between the ages of 8 and 12. While the answers which evaluate particular elements of the programme, and, even more so, the reasons given with the answers, are shown to reveal an ability which might perhaps be called receptivity for qualitative elements of various kinds, an attempt is also made to reveal the more intellectual capabilities and their application.

The French team introduces the analysis of the ratings with the following remark: "We should like to point out in advance that those incidents which were liked best were not always the same as the ones that were considered funny. This difference did not exist for the 4–9 year olds (cf. "Patrik und Putrik", p. 27)." – To this should be added a comparable observation made in the Cechoslovakian report: "A large number of the children were delighted by the chase scenes and the clowning on the trapeze, but in nearly all cases it could be read between the lines that they were on the side of the crafty, jolly, hard-working and clever Ferdl . . . , usually after a short period of consideration subsequent to an evaluation of the funny side of the story" (p. 84). – The German study also – on the basis of a photograph selection test – produced similar results: the receptivity of the children for qualities of quite different kinds.

The American report is different on this point in so far as it states that the American children gave only few and then general reasons for their preferences. From this R. Garry reasons that these children "approach television with limited critical judgement regarding their likes and dislikes".

The key to the various themes contained in the programme is primarily provided by the figure of the Clown due to the unusually high degree of interest Ferdl succeeds in awakening in nearly all the children.

At the head of the list of rating motives with regard to themes or contents – primarily mentioned in connection with incidents or characters which were particularly liked – were, typical for the age group in question, Ferdl's achievements, especially concrete achievements like acrobatics and musical instruments, but also the success that he gains as a result of these achievements (French, Czechoslovakian, and German reports); the older children, as far as age groups are given, are in the majority in mentioning this last aspect. Evaluations of this kind presuppose the ability to see the action as a whole.

The comparison of the two Clown lists has already been mentioned as showing that children are receptive to quite differentiated human characteristics. Judging from the reasons given by the children, this result could be extended to include understanding for human relationships – once again with the main emphasis on the Clown. A certain indication of age group is provided by a more descriptive or a more interpretative formulation of answers.

Whereas the children's understanding of the relationship of the Clown to the Puppeteer, Dog, and Guard is described in similar terms in all the reports which deal with this aspect, there is a difference with regard to the Clown/Dancer relationship between the English and German studies on the one hand, whose analyses point to little interest and understanding for the "love story", and the French report on the other hand, which contains more and also quite detailed comments by the children on this theme. There is, however, a certain degree of agreement in all the countries' reports that the "love story" was generally interpreted as representing was largely ignored.

The figure of the Guard is a particularly interesting example of the multi-dimensional receptivity of children. According to the French, Czechoslovakian, and German reports the Guard heads the list of unpopular characters, but he is also to be found in the list of liked characters – either in second place, beaten only by the Clown, or in third place.

The French and German analyses of the reasons for this agree that the Guard is measured by different criteria, is rejected above all because he was "mean to the Clown" (as far as the story as such and the Guard as a character are concerned), but liked, on the other hand, where he is evalued as a comic figure or in his role as an opponent when he contributes towards a heightening of the tension (comedy, dramatic function). The ratings were thus by no means simply tied to the black and white scheme of the action, for also the contributions which this figure makes towards the shaping of the story and the structure were appreciated and resulted in corresponding ratings. – The American report shows that this multi-dimensionality of the rating only occurs among the older children, for also here the Guard comes close to the Clown in popularity – but only among the ten to twelve year olds.

A further element of the programme, which emerges as a rating motive, is the general atmosphere; as might be expected, the most commonly mentioned elements are the funny and amusing ones. However, the French group in particular reports of incidents which are mentioned because the child responded to the "joy" and happy mood which they contained. Similar reactions, but also the ambivalence of the general atmosphere – both happy and sad – is occasionally mentioned also in reports from other countries as a positive factor. On the other hand, however, the "too sad" of the atmosphere is occasionally mentioned in a negative sense.

A third element is the receptivity for the various means of artistic presentation, which also include the comic element and the structure of the programme, to which we have already referred.

The point on which all five reports agree on most is the response to the artistic appearance of the puppets, although here the French children are already ahead in their observations, which are more detailed and more sensitive. They do this to an even greater extent, and, as far as can be seen in all age groups, in comments which point to a response to other means of artistic presentation, e. g. by referring to good acting and aesthetically pleasing interpretation, to the successful imitation of natural gestures by the puppets, to the cleverness of the puppeteers, and to the music. The Czechoslovakian children, too, show considerable appreciation of the last two points, which were also given expression in their expert answers as to why they gave preference to puppets for this programme or why they approved of the introduction of information on puppet playing into the film by the use of the puppeteers as actors. There are remarks of a similar nature to be found here and there in the German material by older children, but they do not occur with the same frequency and differentiation. – Only further research can reveal to what extent this is due to national differences in receptivity, to articulateness, to differences resulting from national traditions, or to other reasons.

With regard to the indirect forms of presentation used in the programme (the corner of the poster, flower, heart, the taking down of the poster at the end, the calender as a means of indicating passing time) the various reports are in agreement to the extent that his form of presentation does not appear to have attracted special attention in any country, although here, too, there were subtle degrees of difference. As might be expected in view of the stronger emphasis on the "love story" made by the French children, the results given in the French report contain relatively frequent reference to the related symbols, especially the heart, plus appropriate interpretations of it as a symbol of the dancer's love. But the French children do not mention the corner of the poster and the flower any more frequently than do the children of other countries. The English report says – and this is similar to what a summary of the German result would read like – "Only the 10–12 year olds remembered ...... the Dancer a flower and that the Dancer juggled with the heart – and only 8 of these children explained the meaning of these actions ...... Only 2 children noticed that the poster of the Dancer communicated by means of rolling a corner up and down (10 year olds and older)."

The very limited degree of appeal that the trick with the poster corner had – as might be assumed, and as is confirmed by misinterpretations, this depends very much on the degree of comprehension – is proved by the fact that when the children were shown three pictures of the Dancer and told to pick out the one they liked best, the one representing this aspect of the poster was by far the one most rarely chosen (French, Czechoslovakian, and German Reports).

The English Report sums up: "Children of 8–12 years do not necessarily react to the kind of symbolic actions to which adults – as is to be expected – react correctly" (p. 77).

d) Understanding

All the research teams agree on the fact that the 8–12 year olds understood the main outline of the story. The basis for this assumption is primarily to be found in the ability to recall which was analyzed both according to the number of the main sequences and the individual sequences mentioned, and to the correct order in which they were given. The English Report sums up this aspect as follows: "Thus children of 8 years and more are capable of remembering incedents in the order in which they occured, which suggests that they have understood the trend of the story" (p. 77), and the Czechoslovakian Report says that "the children particularly well remember all the crucial points of the action" (p. 83).

At first sight the question of the importance of age is not very clear, but it becomes clearer after closer study of the degree of comprehension called for.

According to American figures, which largely tally with the German in this respect, there are no statistically significant differences between the age groups as far as the simpler tasks are concerned, like recalling indicated individual incidents, and the number of persons and objects remembered, although there were certain trends, as for example fewer omissions of important sequences or fewer mistakes in the order in the case of older children (American Report).

More difficult tasks, however, which demanded a more comprehensive grasp of the action including the understanding of its motives – like for instance the placing of 12 pictures in the order in which the action they represent took place, or the question about the success of the Clown (German Report) – were solved more or less sucessfully depending on the age of the children.

The English report finds that there are differences between the age levels, and draws attention to a "critical gap" between the 9 and 10 year old children. This assertion is based on the fewer individual incidents named by the younger children and on the weaker performances of the 8/9 year olds in arranging pictures in their proper order. In the report the differences are related to the greater difficulties which the younger children have in grasping the course of the action – partly because their feeling for chronological order is not yet fully developed.

As they concentrate completely on this task and are incapable of doing both things at the same time, they neglect incidents which appear to them subsidiary, but which are mentioned by the older children, as these are quite capable of describing the course of the action plus individual incidents. – This interpretation also makes it clear why only the older children mention the symbolic actions (= incidents), and would also explain their better comprehension.

As already mentioned in connection with the evaluation of the Clown lists, the English report relates the intellectual development to Piaget's phases of concrete and formal thinking operations and the corresponding transitional forms. Some of the observations – a number of which have already been mentioned under the heading "receptivity" – would appear to be of interest in connection with any discussion of the hypothesis that children in the concrete operations phase (8–11 year olds) do not perceive the simultaneous presence of various "attributes" (qualities, dimensions).

The reports – giving precise ages – also mention some younger children who can differentiate between various dimensions, as, for example, between main character and favourite character (French and Czechoslovakian reports) and mention the already discussed rating motives with regard to contents and form: furthermore, however, such differentiation is so frequently found in the statements which are quoted verbatim that here, too, even though there is no reference to age, it can be assumed that the younger age groups are also involved. The fact that these are not only children who judge according to either the one or the other dimension, but in quite a number of cases are probably children who simultaneously differentiated between, and applied, several dimensions, is shown by statements in which several things are balanced against each other, and by the fact that frequently the same child classified the Guard under "like" and "dislike". In this connection the French team expressly emphasizes: "There is continuity as well as broken continuity between the perception of the hero and his story and the perception that this story was transposed and staged. This age in which the child easily passes from the one to the other is very interesting" (p. 66). This comment by the French team is particularly interesting as Piaget also made his studies on French-Swiss children. An important point in this connection, however, is also the English comment that an unequivocal relationship to Piaget's phases could not be expected in the present study "as the tasks which the children were set were all of a "concrete" nature and that a primary difference between concrete and formal operations, after all, is that in formal operations the child must cope with hypothetical tasks" (p. 78).

e) Perception of the contents

The hypothesis that younger children are more likely to take a programme to be "real" than older ones was examined in the English study, using a multi-phased scale on the model of the semantic differential (extreme points "real" and "not real"), whereby the expected differences dependent on age were discovered. Furthermore, partly in order to gain further criteria for the degree of sensibility for reality, the problem of identification – especially the little-studied question of "role identification" statements made by the children was revealed.

Apart from this investigation which was only carried out by the English team, the conclusions drawn in all the other reports on the relationship of the children to reality and to possible differences depending on age were based on the evaluation of the questions which naturally arise out of the programme, i. e. the simultaneous use of human beings, puppets, and posters.

The fact that human beings appeared in the programme in addition to puppets was clearly recognized by all children, with a minimal number of exceptions, as was shown by the response to a direct question to this effect.

In the statements on the function of the human beings in the programme two different opinious emerged: one in which the function of the human being as a puppeteer was recognized (recognition of reality, and one in which the human being is credited with playing a role (opinion deriving from story); In the English study the comparision of owner and pet was used. There are differences between the individual reports as to the numerical distribution of the two opinions. A further question as to why the author chose this means of representation was answered especially by the Czechoslovakian children with practical reasons (knowledge of puppeteering), whereas according to the other reports the children in the other countries were either silent on this point or gave rather senseless answers.

Furthermore, according to the English, French and German reports, the majority of the children (about 2/3) answered the direct question as to whether the posters were also "actors" with no; the rest of the answers were either positive or mixed. In the evaluation of this question in relation to age, both the American and the German reports say that there was no statistically significant difference, whereas the English and French reports point out that the 12 year olds – the 12 year old boys – were most unanimous and energetic in denying this. The English report stresses that a further aspect of the ability, already several times referred to, of the children to include several dimensions in their statements is that especially the 12 year olds, who were most emphatic in denying the idea that the poster was an actor, found this method of representation to be a good and original idea as such. This "cognitive-affective differentiation" is in agreement with Piaget's thesis at this age level (12 years).

In contrast to the majority negation of the posters' role as actors just described, 96% of the Czechoslovakian children gave an affirmative answer to this question, which, however, as far as can be seen from the translation, was put to them in a slightly different way (Czechoslovakia: "do you think that the poster figures also acted?", in the other countries: ". . . were actors – Schauspieler – des personages?"). The word "actor" was taken – at least by the German children – to mean largely the same as "human being".

The completely different answers that result from a slightly different formulation of the question suggests that the conception of reality of the 8 – 12 year olds is already multi-dimensional, and that the answer varies according to whether it is given cognitively or affectively. This depends, no doubt, on both the child (age, individuality, social stratum) and the way in which the question is formulated. The extreme dependence on the formulation as illustrated by the question on the poster figures might be explained on the grounds that at the age levels under investigation the borderline between the two dimensions is still vague. The fact that also many of those children who cognitively gave a negative answer nevertheless also felt the poster figures were actors is made clear by the explanatory answers. According to the French report a number of children considered the duality of the situation and explained it. From this the French group compiled a short catalogue of the characteristics which were named as pro and contra "reality". The German study bases its arguments primarily on the results of the picture selection, but also takes the frequent mentioning of the figures in personified form into consideration, and comes to the conclusion that at least a larger part of the sample experienced the posters as persons and actors.

Martin Keilhacker

THE GERMAN REPORT

Preliminary remarks

1) This study is to be understood as a direct continuation of the studies of the television programme "Patrik und Putrik", which was awarded the 1966 Prix Jeunesse International for Category I (Children's programmes up to the age of 7). As far as possible similar complexes of questions were investigated. The Czechoslovakian television programme „Clown Ferdl" formed the basis of the study. In the 1966 Prix Jeunesse it was given a special award for Category II (children's programmes for the ages 7 to 12).

2) Like the "Patrik und Putrik" study, this one, too, was carried out on a comparative basis. The research aimed primarily at revealing any age, but also sex, differences in the rating and understanding of the programme by 8 to 12 years olds. The small size of the sample alone prohibited a study of the rating and the understanding of to 12 year olds per se.

a) Publications on which the present contribution draws are mentioned in the following text. To us it seemed advisable to frame the hypothesis on a relatively narrow basis, i. e. to draw only on German studies of film and television research. Conclusions drawn on the basis of general theses of development psychology are mentioned. As, on the one hand, a number of hypotheses were to be checked, on the other hand, however, only relatively few indicators could be employed in the course of the tests, a certain element of doubt remains. Thus some of the hypotheses framed in the following study should be examined only on a very narrow basis together with the questionnaire used (e. g. conception of reality).

b) In contrast to part I of the report, which aims at generalizations, part II, which is phenomenologically orientated, attempts to relate the multiplicity of the dimensions in the programme to the multiplicity and variation in the respondents' ways of experiencing things. The hypotheses examined in the first part represent only a small section of this broad field. The second part represents an attempt on the one hand to show the multiplicity of the ways in which children experience – and seen in this light it might be said to have a diagnostic aspect –, and on the other hand to classify the results and to interpret them phenomenologically.

3. From two elementary schools in the centre of Munich 94 children of 8 to 12 years were chosen at random (graduated evenly according to age, sex, and their intelligence as estimated by their teacher).

These children were shown the television programme on a video recorder; after the showing the respondents were questioned by female interviewers. All the interviews were recorded on tape.

The basis of the interviews was provided by a semi-standardized questionnaire which was worked out jointly with the other research teams.

The answers given by the respondents were counted and checked for statistical significance (significance level 95%) with the t-test and the chi-square-procedure. Furthermore a factorial analysis in accordance with the main component model was carried out for one section of the study.*)

PART I

1. The Clown

There are – as far as we know – no German studies on the subject of Clown stereotypes. Therefore we were unable to make use of any previous experience or theoretical arguments. The Clown figure, however, appears relatively frequently in entertainment, especially in children's entertainment (in literature, in the circus, in films and television). It can therefore be assumed that as a result of entertainment of this kind experienced by the children, children do have a general Clown image – even if it is sometimes relatively uncontrolled.

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*) We are particularly grateful to Mr. Bedall and Mr. Brandstätter for programming and processing the data We are also indebted to the Leibniz-Rechenzentrum in Munich for their kind support.

In the programme which is the subject of this study a Clown is the main and dominant character. A number of hypotheses and complexes of questions can be formulated which aim at establishing a connection between this general Clown image and the Clown Ferdl seen by the respondents in this programme. Furthermore questions could be formulated on the meaning of the Clown figure as such (e. g. the role of the Clown as a legitimation of the violation of norms, or the Clown's function as an outlet of aggression – called the catharsis hypothesis etc., cf. Schramm and others 1961).

Our complex of questions can, to begin with, only be formulated with a view to an evaluatory dimension (cf. Wodraschke 1959, Stückrath 1967). It seems that the popularity of children's programmes decreases with increasing age. If we apply this assumption to our programme, then we can formulate the hypothesis that Clown Ferdl, as main character of a children's programme, is probably more favourably rated by younger children than by older ones.

As an additional hypothesis we intend to see whether this rating is more positive than that of the general Clown stereotype. Furthermore we assume that the general Clown stereotype will prove to be independent of the age and sex of the children.

Thus the three following hypotheses can be formed:

a) Clown Ferdl is more positively rated by younger children than by older ones.

b) Younger children rate Clown Ferdl more positively than the general Clown stereotype; no difference is expected in the rating of older children.

c) The general Clown stereotype is independent of the age and sex of children.

Thus the task of the respondents consisted of either agreeing to or rejecting 32 assertions, which firstly (before the programme) referred to a general Clown stereotype, and secondly (after the programme) to Clown Ferdl in particular.

The answers of the respondents were counted, and checked with the chi-square-test with regard to the dependence of the individual Clown images on age and sex, and with regard to the differences between the two Clown images in the various age groups.

Hypothesis c) assumes that the general Clown stereotype will prove to be independent of the children's age and sex. On the basis of the results this hypothesis can be accepted as far as 29 of the assertions are concerned. Only one assertion proved to be dependent on age (a Clown is famous vs. age: ($X^2 = 15.61$; df = 8); only two others proved to be dependent on sex: (a Clown is bold v. sex: $X^2 = 7.24$, df = 2; a Clown is melancholy vs. sex: $X^2 = 7.59$, df = 2). For Clown Ferdl, too, only two assertions proved to be dependent on age and two assertions dependent on sex (the Clown in the programme was successful vs. age and sex: $X^2 = 16.63$, df = 8; $X^2 = 6.12$, df = 2; the Clown in the programme was lazy vs. age: $X^2 = 16.73$, df = 8; the clown in the programme was clever vs. sex: $X^2 = 6.86$, df = 2). Hypothesis a) therefore appears not to apply.

After a certain amount of uncertainty had arisen in the interpretation of the results, we decided on a factorial analysis as an apparently suitable method of categorizing the 32 assertions, i. e. of finding the dimensions under which the respondents classified the 32 assertions.

For economic reasons the factorial analysis was only carried out for the general clown stereotype.

We should like to make a few qualifications, however, some in reference to the procedure, others to the identification and the interpretation of the results of the factors.*)

a) The Clown scale was composed in the "Likert tradition", but it is impossible to speak of a scale in the strict sense of the word before information on the statistical quality criteria of

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*) cf. K. Pawlik (1968) in relation to the following

the scale are available. The selection of the adjectives was carried out in the following way: firstly, from a list of about 6,000 adjectives such adjectives were selected as appeared to have a sensible application to the object in question (about 200). These were classified according to definite dimensions which seemed to us proper for a clown.
Two coders working independently of each other reduced the list to 32 adjectives. This procedure does not precisely comply with the rules of a random model, however, so that some reservations must be made.

b) After completion of the factor analysis, the first two factors cover only 23% of the total variance (I: 0.14; II: 0.09); all five extracted factors only 41% of the total variance.

After rotation of the first two factors (visual) the loads amounted to only approximately 0.5 (min.: 0.42; max.: 0.65; only loads over 0.4 were considered statistically significant). The last three factors can scarcely be interpreted; an interpretation would appear plausible in the case of the first two factors. But here, too, the comparable factor analyses using the same variables required for identification are lacking.

We will nevertheless propose names for the first two factors in order to have at least some systematic foothold for the inerpretation of the results.

The first factor shall be called "bad characteristics" of the Clown: (loads within the given limits): rude, bragging, annoying, fearful, wild, cheeky, lazy, stubborn, stupid, lazy-minded.

The second factor shall be called the "good characteristics" of the Clown (loads within the given limits): musical, good-natured, honest, inventive, friendly, successful, clever.

If, with the help of this instrument, we compare the image of Clown Ferdl with the general clown stereotype, then the starting hypothesis b), that the younger children would rate Clown Ferdl as compared with the general clown image better than the older children cannot be maintained. Indeed, a general increase in higher rating can be established within the group of 8 to 12 year old children. These differences are shown in the following table; **x** means a significant increase in positive rating.

Significantly higher rating of „Clown Ferdl" in comparison with the general clown stereotype
(Level: min. 95%)

	Age					All respondents
Factor II	8	9	10	11	12	n
Musical						x
Good-natured						
Honest						
Inventive						
Friendly						
Successful						x
Clever			x			x
Factor I						
Rude						
Bragging	x	x	x	x	x	x
Annoying	x	x	x	x		x
Fearful	x					x
Wild				x		x
Cheeky	x				x	x
Lazy	x		x			x
Stubborn	x		x	x		x
Stupid	x	x	x	x	x	x
Lazy-minded	x	x	x	x		x

2. Rating

A hypothesis can be framed from the studies made by Stückrath (1967) and Wodraschke (1959) that 8 to 9 year olds would rate the television programme Clown Ferdl and the clown figure as a children's programme higher than the 11 to 12 year olds. In order to check this, the respondents were first given a five grade scale with the request that they should rate the programme "Clown Ferdl", then they were asked to form a scale (from "most favourite" to "not liked at all") out of three television programmes they knew and to fit "Clown Ferdl" into it.

The answers of the respondents were counted and statistically checked with the t-test. This resulted in no statistically certain difference between 8/9 year olds and 11/12 year olds for the first rating scale ($t = 1.82$). The same question was put again at the end of the interview. This repetition produced no differences – neither in comparison with the first scale, nor with regard to the age of the respondents.

No age differences ($t = 1.61$) were discovered either in the task in which the children had to rate "Clown Ferdl" in comparison with other television programmes known to them.

The results of further rating tasks were as follows:

97% of the children tested counted the Clown as the person they liked best in the programme. There were no age differences. ($X^2 = 1.63$; $df = 4$).

After the division of the programme into 23 sequences it was found that for 22 of them the rating was not dependent on age. Only the "chasing scene (16)" was rated significantly higher by younger children ($X^2 = 11.32$; $df = 4$). Similarly, the question as to the funniest passage revealed only one scene – "Clown Ferdl on the trapeze (17)" – as being dependent on age. (X^2 corr. $= 6.14$; $df = 1$).

These results show that the starting hypothesis cannot be maintained in this general form. However, there are some facts to support the hypothesis as far as the rating of the presentation of the programme was concerned.

The question as to why some parts of the programme were not to their liking was answered by significantly more older (11/12) children than younger (8/9) ones with remarks which are related to the "mixture of puppets and human beings" (X^2 corr. $= 4.9$; $df = 1$). When asked directly as to the rating of the programme's presentation the older children rated it significantly lower than the younger ones ($X^2 = 17.8$; $df = 8$).

3. Comprehension

Children's television programmes in the form of a fiction story are considered suitable for children of over the age of 8. In contrast to younger ones, children of this age seem to be perfectly capable of following longish sequences of action, and difficulties in comprehension are not expected. The term "children's programme", however, is associated with very definite ideas as regards the themes and the simple, clear structure of the form. (cf Marg. Keilhacker 1963). For more complex forms of representation, as, for example, stories within stories, "subsequent joining of the threads of the story to from the core of the plot", etc., higher degrees of comprehension are required that most 8/9 year olds do not seem capable of achieving (Marg. Keilhacker 1963; Stückrath 1967). Although Stückrath (1967) produces only one concrete example of this, in which, for example, he takes a high degree of articulation to be an indication of the degree of understanding, and relates this to the child's greater contact and experience with its surroundings, this thesis nevertheless appears – in a generalized form – to be useful for the present study.

A hypothesis might be framed stating that the programme "Clown Ferdl", as far as complexity goes, will present certain barriers to understanding precisely through the mixture of people. puppets, and "posters" as "actors", which also has an influence on the action. This will manifest itself less by a lacking comprehension of individual sequences of action; it is rather that the interpretative systems of 8 to 9 year old children will not include the principles underlying the form of representation of the action and the motivation underlying the players' actions. In a summary Piaget (1961) shows that the beginnings of "formal" thought structures are not found until the age of 11.

In the present study a few indicators were prepared with a view to checking this hypothesis.

a) Thus, with regard to a general grasp of the programme, no age differences were expected firstly in the number of sequences mentioned in the retelling of the story, secondly in the number of persons, and thirdly in the number of objects mentioned.

As expected, there were no significant differences between 8 – 9 year olds and 11 – 12 year olds in any of the three tests (reproduction: $t = 1.0$; number of persons: $t = 1.2$; number of objects: $t = 1.6$). From the point of view of practical significance the hypothesis can be accepted.

b) More difficult tasks, however, which do more justice to the complexity of the programme, do reveal age differences.

Thus 11 to 12 year old children can arrange 12 still photographs from the programme in the correct order significantly better than the 8 to 9 year olds ($t = 2.0$). Thus the first proof for the acceptance of the hypothesis under discussion is given.

This impression is strengthened when the question is asked as to how far 8 – 12 year old children see Clown Ferdl's actions as motivated, or how far they interpret the Clown's actions.

Thus only 64% of the 8 – 9 year old respondents recognized the success of the Clown compared with 91% of the 11 – 12 year olds ($X^2 = 5.89$; $df = 1$). The part of the Clown's success that was more readily noticed by the older than by the younger children was his success in getting a job at the circus ($X^2 = 17.5$; $df = 4$). As far as the "success" of the Clown with the dancer was concerned, there were no significant differences, neither of age nor of sex.

When asked to retell the end of the story, significantly more ($X^2 = 7.37$; $df = 1$) 11 – 12 year olds (41%) than 8 – 9 year olds (10%) gave interpretative descriptions. Although this did not reach a significant level ($X^2 = 3.69$; $df = 1$), the 11 – 12 year olds mentioned the "professional success of the Clown" more frequently (41%) than the 8 – 9 year olds (19%) in saying why the programme had a happy ending.

In a similar way the relationship of the Clown to his friend is given in interpretative form significantly more freuquently by older than by younger children ($X^2 = 9.56$; $df - 4$).

On the other hand, as far as the description of the Clown's relationship to the Ringmaster and the Dancers is concerned, there is no significant age difference.

c) The mixing of people, puppets, and posters as actors also has another interesting aspect: it can be asked whether and to what extent children recognize such forms of representation, and can differentiate between the individual levels of reality. The hypothesis can be framed that documentary forms of representation are not understood as such until the beginning of puberty; that the first noticeable beginnings of this can be found in 11 – 12 year old children (cf. Stückrath 1967, Tröger 1963).

The present study provides no grounds for accepting this.

The question as to what the real people did in the programme was answered by 88% of the respondents with "worked puppets". There were no age differences. The question as to other actors apart from the puppets was answered quite clearly in favour of the real people in the programme (79%); the posters were mentioned by only 4% of the respondents. Questioned directly on this point, 59% of the respondents rejected the posters as actors. Here, too, there were no significant age differences.

Thus the hypothesis under discussion does not seem to be true with regard to 8 – 12 year olds, after all. It seems rather as if the forms of representation used in the programme were adequately grasped by all the respondents. The word "actor" was only used in reference to human players.

A realistic presentation along these lines therefore appears to be understood as such, independent of age, even though 11 – 12 year old children mentioned the mixture of human beings and puppets significantly more often in giving reasons why they did not like certain sequences.

It should be remembered, however, that only one dimension of the comprehension of reality – i. e. the one related to the form of presentation – was examined closely. The study seems to confirm that the hypothesis under discussion should be modified. The question as to the extent of the modification and its application to programme forms must remain open.

PART II

In this part an attempt is to be made to reveal relationships between evaluating statements and certain features of the programme, and, possibly, to interpret them. Thus the main interest lies in the various kinds (qualities) of and reasons for the ratings, while the figures given in this part simply serve the purpose of providing information on, for example, the distribution of the various kinds of ratings among our respondents.

To this end a number of picture selection tasks were included in the study. In these tasks the respondents are confronted with series of pictures of quite concrete situations taken from the programme, and are asked to select and thus rate them, following the given instructions (cf. p. 100). An inherent factor of uncertainty in this method is the multidimensionality of each picture and the resulting uncerainty as to which dimension was primarily responsible for the choice made by the respondent. This cannot be eliminated, but can be reduced by asking the respondent to give reasons for the choice. Furthermore, results obtained by other methods can be drawn upon for comparison.

A) One of these groups of questions ("Three Picture Questions", No. 48 – 55) aims at rating the characters. Three pictures each of the Guard, the Puppeteer, the Dancer, and the Dog were shown in succession to the respondents. The instructions were that they should pick out the picture which showed the person as they liked him/her best. In order to achieve as high a degree of differentiation as possible, each picture within each group of three showed the person in a characteristic pose, but seen from different sides of his/her character or in a different situation.

For the analysis the reasons given by the respondents were categorized; the following main motives for picture selection emerged:

1) Formal pictorial qualities (frequently mentioned: clear photography; character clearly visible, in the centre of the picture, in close-up, from the front, etc.); these statements are of no significance for the rating of the character itself;

2) Contents of the pictures: outward appearance and the character of the person revealed by it; actions (what the characters do); interactions (relationships to other characters including the accompanying feelings); comic aspects.

Whereas the classification as "formal" or "relating to contents" presented scarcely any difficulties, it was difficult to clearly separate all the sub-categories such as given under 2).

Due to lack of space only one example – that of the Guard – is examined here; as far as the other three characters are concerned, we would refer our readers to the full German report.

1) Picture 30 (Passage 18) shows the Guard helplessly swinging from the trapeze. As might be imagined in view of the blurred image attendant on a picture made while the subject is moving, this photograph was never chosen for formal reasons, but only because of its contents. A 12 year old girl particularly stresses this: "The picture is not very well made, but I would have liked to annoy the Guard even more". The reasons given can be divided among the main categories as follows:

40% are based mainly on the action, i. e. are very graphic descriptions of how the Guard jerks about, dangles, etc; furthermore – and this speaks for the liveliness of the presentation – there are also acoustic comments: the way he shouts, curses, etc. It can be taken that the Guard's actions here were generally described from the comic side.

20% refer to interactions including motivations and moral evaluations (e. g. that the Clown hung up the Guard because he was furious with him and thus got the better of him; that the Guard can now no longer disturb the Clown; that the Guard is here getting what was coming to him). With one exception these statements come from 10–12 year old respondents.

34% refer directly to the comic aspect (e. g. "He looks so funny up there.").

It can be assumed that such respondents who like that picture best in which the Guard suffers his greatest defeat, and who support their choice by describing his helplessness and by pointing out the comic aspects of this situation, have little liking for the character of the Guard.

Within the set of three "Guard" pictures, Picture No. 30 received most votes (37 votes), and was chosen by all the age groups, though most rarely by the 8 year olds. It seems plausible – and this is supported to a certain extent by the interaction reasons given – that older respondents chose this picture primarily because of its importance to the story as a whole, while the younger ones chose it for its comic aspects. This would support the hypothesis, which was confirmed in the analysis of the verbal questions, that the grasp of the story as a whole and insight into motivations grows with age.

2) Picture 23 (Passage 15) shows the Clown with the percussion instruments; the Guard is directly behind him with his hand raised to hit the Clown. The picture is in focus, and the Guard and the Clown are about equally prominent. Reasons given are:

7% formal qualities of the picture (e. g. "clearer than the other pictures");

22% outward appearance and character; here the Guard's nightshirt is dominant, and the "face he makes";

52% are related to the tension in the Clown/Guard relationship, whereby action and interaction can scarcely be separated (e. g. "the way the Clown is playing, and the Guard is about to grab him");

5% expressly refer to the comic aspects, but "outward appearence and character" were often described because of their comic qualities. A proof of this is to be found in the fact that in the questions as to preference the same characteristics are given as here in explaining why the Guard is a comic figure.

Picture 23 depicts a climax and a coming turning-point in the tense Clown/Guard relationship. Those who choose it presumably assess the Guard in his function of opponent and pursuer, who brings about an exciting action (e. g. "Because the Guard has now seen him, and did not know how the film would go on." (11 year old girl). This would introduce a completely different dimension to the last picture discussed; here it is not the Guard as a personality, but the Guard in his dramaturgical function in the programme who has a decisive influence on the choice.

The results of the question as to the popularity of the characters also indicate a multi-dimensional evaluation of the Guard. On the one hand the Guard is – with only a few exceptions – the only character mentioned at all under "not liked" (41% of the respondents), but on the other hand, under "liked", he takes second place only to the Clown. An interesting point is that he was often mentioned by the same respondent under both headings, and this was usually explained along the following lines: "On the one hand I like the Guard because he is so grim (comical aspects, dramaturgical function as the villain), on the other hand he was very mean to the Clown (as a personality)." This and similar comments (e. g. "I liked the puppet itself and the role"), all of which come from respondents from the age of ten, show that these children were already capable of evaluating according to two dimensions.

Picture 23 took second place only to the previous picture with tho votes less; as far as age was concerned, however, 23 was most popular among the 8 year olds, was still well liked by the intermediate age groups, but only chosen once by the 12 year olds. Like the significantly higher rating of the "chase" by the younger respondents (cf. p. 84), these findings seem to support the hypothesis that the interest in outward tension (tension of the chase) is very high with 8/9 year olds, at it begins to subside in the pre-puberty age, and, with increasing age, makes room to an ever-growing extent for interest in various kinds of interactions (cf. M. and M. Keilhacker, 1953).

3) Picture 29 (Passage 6) is a half-length portrait of the Guard in full uniform, with a strict expression and his index finger raised half censoriously and half threateningly; the photo is in focus, and the Guard takes up nearly the whole of the surface of the picture.

23% of the reasons given are related to formal pictorial qualities;

69% to outward appearance and characters; on the one hand pointing out that the Guard is fat, is wearing a uniform, etc., and on the other hand saying how grim, bad-humoured, and furious he looks, or commenting on his grumbling.

Comical aspects are expressly mentioned only once, but the same as was said under Picture 23 applies here as far as its being contained in the other comments is concerned.

It is clear from the reasons given that the symptoms which are intended to characterize the Guard as a strict, unyielding, powerful person of authority were understood by the respondents who chose this picture (24 respondents), and that they liked the Guard in this role. The contents and form of the reasons given for choosing this picture show that the comic element, which was introduced by the somewhat exaggerated interpretation of this "grim" character, was the most important, whereas here is no evidence that the Guard was seen as the embodiment of power and force (interpretation as intended in the programme).

B) A further task based on picture selection consisted of sorting a series of 12 pictures into "important" and "less important", whereby at least 4 had to be counted "less important". This series of pictures was composed with the aim of presenting main themes and specific forms of presentation of the programme, and of having them rated.

The term "important" was taken by the majority of the respondents to mean "important for the story", but by others as synonymous for "liked". About 10% of the respondents commented that their choice was made simply from the point of view of whether the Clown was in the picture or not, as he was, after all, the main figure, and only things that concerned him could be important; this was thus also evidence for the great popularity of the Clown and his underlying importance for the ratings.

1) The two pictures which were most frequently chosen as "important" belong to the Clown/Guard chase sequence (Picture 10: Guard falls over the drum, Clown escapes; Picture 18: Clown on the trapeze, passages 16 and 17), and must thus be counted as part of the action theme, which was also shown by the results of the verbal questions to be a highly rated element of the programme. The special liking of the age levels studied is well known. A somewhat closer examination of the two pictures and the reasons for their choice, however, reveals two variations of this theme. Picture 10 shows a chase, which is also reflected in the reasons given and their emphasis on dynamic qualities (he rushes at him, falls over the drum, almost got him). As far a the groups within the sample were concerned, this picture was preferred by 8/9 year olds, by boys, and, above all, by the lower intelligence group (five levels below the top).

Picture 18 depicts a situation which, although in a exciting context, is extended and played with few variations. The Clown's acrobatics last for a long time. Length and monotony can bore children intensely under certain conditions. The fact that this picture proved the most popular choice (first place) excludes the possibility of it being a "boring passage". The question is rather why this passage was felt by the respondents to be particularly important and thus presumably also interesting.

The reasons given nearly always centre on the acrobatics, but with formulations which at the same time express the highest admiration for the Clown and his artistry (plays the artiste, combine here with the effect that interest does not flag even in a lengthy passage: the involvement of the favourite character, who can be admired in a first-rate performance (performance theme); and furthermore a performance which is in any case extremely popular, especially with children, because here they can judge quality from their own experience – better than they can in the playing of instruments, for example; and finally the inclusion of this performance in a still thrilling context (action theme).

Picture 18 takes first or secound place with the 10 to 12 year olds and third or fourth place with the 8/9 year olds, which, in comparison with the previous picture discussed, might be due to the fact that picture 10 is concerned with outward circumstantial tension, while every performance or achievement implies human qualities – if of a very varied kind.

2. The third most popular choice was Picture 15 (passage 13, Clown playing a guitar), which was included in the series of pictures in order to stimulate a reaction to music-making. In contrast to the normal accompanying role to which film music is relegated, the Clown's music-making is in itself a theme of the programme. Experience has shown our Institute that long musical numbers in films often bore children after a short time.

The frequency with which this picture of the guitar-playing Clown was chosen does not suggest that the music was felt to be boring; however, it is probable that precisely this picture was not chosen for its contents, but – as the results of another question indicate – often for formal reasons (good "portrait shot").

If the results of the picture selection and of the relevant verbal questions are summed up, then two different attitudes to the musical passages emerge:

Respondents who comment favourably do so 1) by far the most frequently in close connection with the Clown, although not so often as in reference to the "acrobatics", but otherwise in a very similar way with great admiration for the great performance by their favourite character (performance theme); 2) the amusing and swift way in which he played (so quick, so wild) and the comic effect of his expressions and his mime (his buffoonery, the funny faces he pulled, his funny hands) are stressed; 3) the music as such, however, is only occasionally mentioned positively (e. g. "loud and crazy"). This plus the fact that in the reproduction the music-making is – with a few exceptions – dealt with summarily (in contrast to the acrobatics, the music scenes are neither mentioned individually nor described in any detail) suggests that the music did not arouse interest primarily for its own sake, but only in connection with the Clown and through the careful and devoted way in which the puppet was made to present it.

On the other hand there is a smaller group of children who take a negative view of the music-making, giving as reasons that the long musical passages were boring, that the Clown always played the same music and played far too many instruments, and that the music itself was no good.

3) The programme contains two themes, which could be included under the heading "emotional themes" (cf. Stückrath and others 1955), and for each of these one picture was presented for choice.

On picture 3 (passage 7) there are the Clown, the Puppeteer, and the Dachshund. Ferdl, who has just returned from his defeat, is sitting on his master's foot (only the legs of the Puppeteer can be seen) with the torn certificate in his hand. The Dog is standing close by. – This picture was given fourth place among the "important" ones, but was beaten by the music picture and the chase picture by only one and two votes respectively, so that all three pictures could really be considered competitors for the second place.

Two pictures which are very similar to picture 3 (32 and 34) were most frequently chosen in the "Three Picture Question" for the Puppeteer and the Dachshund, while the first of these (of the Puppeteer) was the most popular picture of all among the "Three Picture Questions". The reasons given make it quite clear that these pictures were chosen because of the human relationships depicted, which, although they were referred to in many nuances, could be summed up with the term "friendship"; ("The way the Clown and the Dog were always together, and the way the Clown smiled – that was the happiest and the jolliest thing in the programme." 12 year old girl).

The uniformly high rating of these three pictures shows that not only actions but also emotional themes have an impact in children's programmes. Certain forms of friendship, for instance the comradely-friendly relationship with an animal depicted here, or the security offered by an understanding adult, are relationships which are of great importance in the world of experience of the age groups under investigation (cf. Stückrath and others 1955). In this connection even the statements of the 8 year old children include formulations which go beyond pure description and expressly refer to the human relationships.

As the connection between outward sign and inner meaning is still very close in childhood, these relationships must be made very obvious in the action of the characters and the way in which they behave towards one another. "Clown Ferdl" contains good examples of this kind of graphic presentation in keeping with the age of the audience. Thus the fact that, for example, "the Dog always went with him" plays an important part from this point of view. Precisely when the presentation takes up an everyday and natural-seeming form of behaviour, as here, the danger of becoming sentimenal is avoided. A short list of reasons given for choosing picture 34 (Clown/Dog) is intended to show all the aspects which were important in depicting the friendship (listed in order of increasing age): They are so close together there; because he licked his face; because he sits next to the Clown and barks to him; he sniffs so nicely at his ear; the Clown sits so (sadly) there, and the Dog has his head near his; because they belong together; because he tells him something; you can see that the Dog belongs to the Clown and feels sorry for him; the Dog persuaded the Clown to go back to the Circus again.

Picture 22 (Passage 23), taken from the final sequence, on which the Clown is to be seen with his arm around the Dancer's picture, takes sixth place in the overall rating list, but if arranged according to sex takes up a position two or three places lower (two pictures received the same number of votes) with the boys than with the girls; a tendency developing with age is to be detected insofar as the 8/9 year olds place this picture below the median line, while the 10 – 12 year olds place it above. The reasons show that the picture was not always placed among the "important" ones because of the "love", but also because it was the final picture.

If the other verbal questions are taken into consideration in the evalution of the love theme, then the results are roughly: 1) The great majority of the children understood that in the Clown/Dancer relationship it was a question of them getting on well together, making friends with one another, loving one another, but on the other hand these correct interpretations are opposed by relatively many misinterpretations (compared with the level of understanding of the whole programme); 2) When love is mentioned, the fact that the pair becomes happily united plays the most important part; the preliminary courting on the part of the Clown and the coquettish behaviour on the part of the Dancer are only rarely mentioned, and even then almost only in descriptive form; 3) Interest in the "love aspect" is varying, but on the whole rather faint, and less pronounced with the boys than with the girls, although even the girls by no means concentrate on this theme.

In comparison with the uniformly positive, very diversified but nevertheless relevant opinions on "friendship", the remarks on "love" are on the one hand diffuse, and on the other undifferentiated and stereotyped. The reason is probably to be sought in the different degree of appeal the two themes have to the age groups in question.

4) Pictures 8 and 7 were intended to help elicit how the sample would judge and grasp the simultaneous use of various levels of reality.

Picture 8 shows the least "real" characters, the posters, all three figures "at ease" and without any connection with the action; the posters are shown next to one another on the wall and all of the same size; a means of represenation, then, that underlines the pictorial rather than the personal character of these figures. This aspect of the picture which is unfavourable for a personification must be taken into consideration in judging the relatively low rating it was given and when drawing conclusions concerning the interpretations of the posters as actors. Picture 8 tied with picture 35 for the ninth place, which in absolute figures means that 40 children classified it as "important" and 56 did not.

The reasons given can be broken down as follows:

under "important":

20% say that the picture shows the posters – or the figures. The fact that this statement was made under "important" is already significant, but in several cases it is expressly said that the figures were important.

20% go on to say what the figures did or say in so many words that they played parts (e. g. that they clapped, swayed in time to the music, etc., because they played parts, because the three of them watched the action, because they also took part).

4% refer to the figures as friends of the Clown (they were his three friends, otherwise no one else liked him apart from the man and the pictures).

under "less important":

27% say that here only the figures can be seen, that they are "only pictures", and in some cases also that they do nothing, that they do not move. A ten year old girl, for example, said "they were only advertisements"

18% complain of repetition (you saw them several times) or miss the Clown.

The kind of reasons given suggests that by those children who classified the picture as "important" the figures were largely accepted as actors. Furthermore the fact that in the verbal questions the poster figures were frequently referred to in personified form also suggests been the case for a second group of respondents – remain "made of paper".

Picture 7 shows how the puppeteers take their puppets to the circus, and it was included in the task in order to test how this "real" piece of action would be rated. – The picture was given the penultimate place under "important" by the respondents. The reasons given can be broken down as follows:

under "important":

8% say that here you can see all the people and their puppets, that it gives you a general picture of the characters in the programme.

7% say that here you can see how the puppets are worked.

under "less important":

53% say that the working of puppets – or people walking with puppets – is uninteresting and superfluous; nothing happens on the picture; the puppeteers spoil the scene.

17% deal with: 1) the formal qualities of the picture, 2) repetition, 3) the fact that the Clown is missing.

The rating of Picture 7 and the reasons given for it – further supported by the fact that the "mixture of puppets and human beings" (with the negative accent on the human beings) is the only comment which occurs several times under "not liked" – support the conclusion that the large majority of the respondents did not like the "real" parts of the programme. The motive for this might be that the interruption of the Clown's "story" by the information on puppeteering, i. e. the introduction of the real world into the world of fiction was felt by the children to be an interference in their absorption in this imaginary world.

A small minority of the respondents, however, take up an attitude opposite to the one just described. Their statements make it clear that it was precisely the art of puppeteering which they found articularly delightful in the programme. This group does not exceed 10%, and in it the boys and the 11 year olds are in the majority.

On the whole it must be said that the Jury's expectation that "the long procession of the marionettes and puppeteers before the beginning of the story should awake admiration and tense expectation among the children" was only fulfilled to a limited extent.

5) Picture 1 (Passage 2) shows two very different indirect froms of presentation: 1) a calendar whose pages, as they are torn off, shows how long the Clown has to practise, 2) the photographically artistic portrayal of a person as a silhouette (the head and hands of the puppeteer, who is behind a glass door working the Clown). – Picture I is by a long way the last in the rating list, although an adult would tend to give it a chance of being classified as "important" because of its position at the beginning of the programme and because it is the only picture depicting the practising. Reasons given are:

under "important":
5 times that the Clown practised for a long time;

twice that he is learning from the puppeteer;

once that the puppeteer must work the puppets.

under "less important":

23% meaningless (no characters to be seen, only the man, nothing happening, etc.);

21% say that the calendar or the fact that you can see the date is unimportant:

6% of the respondents admit that they did not understand the picture or the business with the calendar;

17% criticize the form the picture takes (you can't see what's happening; don't like it; you can only see shadows; the hands are so funny; it's all indirect);

5% consider it unfair that the Clown should be locked into the bathroom.

If one takes the 23% who criticize the picture as "meaningless" at their face value, that is to say that one accepts that they considered the situation shown here to be unimportant for the Clown's story, there still remain 21% some of whom probably did not understand the meaning of the calendar, and 6% who openly admit it. Furthermore, 17% state that they did not like the silhouette idea.

Also the way in which the Dancer manipulates her poster corner or the heart that she forms, as well as the blowing up of Ferdl's violin into a double bass as his admiration of the Dancer grows, or the final scene in which the Clown and the Dancer are united, are characterized by originality and the use of an indirect, symbolic language. In summing up it can be said with regard to all these symbols that they 1) were given only a little attention and were only mentioned in greater detail by individual older respondents, and 2) that they were relatively frequently misinterpreted. The most successful of them was the heart – probably because it is the most obvious symbol. As evidence of the fact that the curling and uncurling of the poster corner did not "come over" it can be pointed out that of the three "Dancer Pictures" this one was only chosen by 8 respondents, and was several times misinterpreted as a warning signal. The double bass gag was only mentioned once in all the reproductions. About ten of the comments which were made on the final scene are incorrect as to how or why the picture of the Dancer came off the wall (it fell down; torn down; stolen, etc.). – With the exception, perhaps of a few comments on the justness of the solution to the conflict (e. g. Picture 30) the answers given by the respondents reveal no attempt to see a "moral" in the story, not even in the Clown/Guard conflict – for instance the battle and victory won by the weaker side by means of ability, courage, and perseverance as suggested in the reasons given by the Jury for their choice. Otherwise the answers were strictly related to the concrete action.

These observations are in accordance with the fact that understanding for indirect form of presentation is closely connected with the development of the ability to detach oneself from the visible situation (abstraction ability) (cf. Keilhacker/Vogg 1965). The closer and more direct the relationship between symbol and significance is, the earlier understanding can be expected This development is spread beyond childhood into adolescene.

SUMMARY OF SOME RESULTS

Rating

The programme "Clown Ferdl", which can be classified as a children's programme, was, on the whole, liked, but not particularly liked by the 8 – 12 year old respondents. There were no significant age or sex differences.

The main character contributed most towards the positive rating. From this it can be deduced that not only the Clown figure as such, but also the very differentiated human traits which are given expression in Ferdl, and the form of presentation as puppet were well received. There were also no significant age or sex differences in the rating of the main character.

Comprehension

The general story was understood by the respondents of all the age groups with only a few exceptions, but for the young respondents, in keeping with their age, the story probably consisted primarily of action and comedy, while, in keeping with the development of their understanding, the older respondents referred more than the younger ones to human achievements, human relationships, motivations and aims.

As far as the understanding of human relationship is concerned, there is a noticeable difference between the themes "friendship" (the answers are uniform in their contents, and formally differentiated) and "love" (diffuse answers with stereotyped formulation), which suggests that these aspects were well suited and less suited respectively to the age group for which the programme was intended.

The presentation elements in connection with rating and understanding

It appears that interest in the favourite character and amusing presentation make it possible even for long scenes (music-making, acrobatics on the trapeze) to have entertainment value. Amusing presentation has a very strong effect on positive rating.

The majority of the respondents probably understood the use of various levels of reality, but this mixture was the main reason for negative comment as far as "liking" was concerned. There is some evidence to suggest that knowledge of the various levels of reality and the experience of reality did not coincide.

Forms of indirect presentation were relatively frequently not understood, especially by the younger respondents, and were furthermore generally given little attention, which suggests that apart from the fact that they were not understood, they also aroused little interest or liking.

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THE FRENCH REPORT

The French part of the survey was conducted three times: on Thursday, February 8, at the premises of the SERVICE DE LA RECHERCHE of the O. R. T. F., on Monday and Tuesday, April 1 and 2, in the banqueting hall of Villeneuve la Garenne, on Friday, May 10, in the coeducational highschool of Fontenay-sous-Bois.

98 children form elementary and highschools of Paris and Greater Paris were questioned. The age groups were:

Age	Sex		total
	boys	girls	
8 years	8	10	18
9 years	10	10	20
10 years	10	10	20
11 years	10	10	20
12 years	10	10	20
Total	48	50	98

Breakdown of the answers

An introductory question had the purpose of defining the degree of interest of the child during the screening of the film. The child was asked to name three TV-programmes which be liked very much – which he found only average – which he considered to be only fair, and to compare "Clown Ferdl" with them. Seven degrees of appreciation were the result as shown in the following chart:

	AGE					
I liked "Clown Ferdl":	8	9	10	11	12	total
better than the programme which I liked very much	10	4	2	1	2	19
as much as the programme which I liked very much	2	4	3	1	2	12
less than the programme wich I liked very much but better than the one which I considered to be only average:	5	7	12	9	8	41
as much as the programme I considered to by only average	0	2	1	0	4	7
less than the programme I considered to be only average, but better than the one I considered to be only fair	0	2	1	3	4	10
as little as the programme which I considered only fair	0	0	0	0	0	0
less than the programme which I considered only fair	0	0	0	0	0	0
No response	1	1	1	6	0	9
Total	18	20	20	20	20	98

We see then that about half the children like "Clown Ferdl" more than the fair programme and less than the one they considered very good. The youngest children (8 to 9 years) classify "Clown Ferdl" generally above the programme considered very good, whereas we receive the more unfavorable reactions amongst the older children (11, 12 years).

When the test was repeated at the end of the interview, there was no noticable change of appreciation of the film by the children.

Retelling the story

This test could not be analyzed systematically because a large number of the taped interviews disappeared during the events of May and June 1968. The analysis of 47 interviews, which were found again, permits however a certain number of observations.

The first episode – musical apprenticeship of the Clown and his departure and attempt to get a job at the circus – is very frequently retold in very condensed fashion, not very precise and without mentioning any details: "he learns to make music". The only comical incident which is sometimes cited: the one where the marionettes cover their ears because they don't want to hear the discordant scales of the apprentice violinist. In general, however, this episode does not seem to have made any impression on the children. Aside from this, some details were misunderstood: some of them for language reasons (the master certificate bestowed upon the Clown, the poster offering a job for a musical Clown); others again because of wrong interpretations which could not have been forseen. Thus the children almost never understood that the Dachshund ties a scarf around his head to cover his ears (as the other marionettes). They thought he had a toothache.

Episode II – introduction at the entrance of the circus, impossibility to make himself understood by the deaf Doormann, chase by the Monkey who gets hold of the the Clown's diploma, tearing it up and folding it in the shape of an airplane, fight with the Guard, expulsion from the circus, return to the Master who tries to console him – was memorized better than episode I. Frequently the children apparently considered this episode to be the real beginning of the plot, whereas episode I is thought to be nothing but a prologue, a kind of documentary, in order to show a workshop where marionettes are manufactured.

Episode III – the concert – was perceived by all the children. However only very few of them were capable to enumerate (spontaneously or not) the various instruments, or to retell the incidents and gags chronologically. But the understanding of the plot does not suffer by this.

Episode IV – the Guard wants to stop the noise, tries to find its cause, follows the Clown around; gags on the trapeze; the triumphant Clown finishes his recital – was grasped by all the children who were able, in general to reconstruct in detail the three main sequences. The search of the Clown by the Guard was liked very much. One of the children even remembered twice as many highlights of this involuntary hide-and-seek as there were in reality. The chase in the circus is reconstructed very rarely in its entirety. It is mostly confined to its decisive moment, the trapeze gag. The children mention the Clown's acrobatics, the trapeze with the Clown hanging on it, the Guard tied up with the trapeze and pulled up into the air by the Clown.

Retelling the last moment of this episode, all children, even those who did not remember the instruments used before, have noted that the Clown winds up his concert by playing the organ. Episode V – the Clown's consecration whereby he receives a musician's contract – is mentioned by all the children who feel the importance of this act for the clown, even though they do not quite comprehend the exact meaning of it. Many of the children interpreted it as the Clown's musical triumph when he receives the congratulations of the Director of the circus. They did not understand that the Clown was getting a contract because they did not understand either that he was trying to get a gob of a musican at the circus; the professional troubles of the Clown were not perceived by the children. All they remembered was his social defeat.

Episode VI – the Clown sitting next to the poster of the Dancer – is mentioned by almost all of the children. This seems to be due to the fact that it's the last scene of the film. It does not seem that the children attribute great importance to the sentimental aspect of the happy ending. Above all they see the social and professional success of the Clown and his vindication. Few of the children manage to retell the various dodges by which the Dancer alternately approaches and withdraws from her admirer. The personality of the Dancer and that of the Dachshund were not presented very plastically. One should however not conclude that these parts were little or badly perceived: the test of the selection of stills seems to prove the contrary. Some children, especially the older ones, probably because of bashfulness, were relucant to insist on the sentimental aspect of the film.

Questions about the film

A series of questions intended to determine those elements of the film, which were liked or disliked:

"What did you like most in 'Clown Ferdl'?" – The answers to this question show that the elements which were favorized did not always coincide with those which afterwards were described as the funniest. Certain children explain the difference: "When the Clown made music, that was very nice, and afterwards, when the bucket was thrown into the Guard's face, that was funny." (Marie, 9$^1/_2$ years)

Alltogether the children prefer the Clown's performances: be it his exploits on the trapeze or his musical deads it could be emphasized that the boys generally prefer the episode on the trapeze, while the girls like the musical part better. The interest in the musical episodes begins at eight years in the case of the girls and at ten with the boys.

Episodes, where the Clown in one way or another succeeds, are appreciated more than others: "when the Clwon gets his contract"; "when he gets applause by everybody"; "when the Dancer makes a heart"; "when the Clown presents a flower to the girl".

We note that the episode when the Clown returns to the Dancer at the end of the film was selected by six girls and only by one boy.

Nevertheless many children designate with preference such scenes which also made them laugh most. In the order of frequency:

- the repeated troubles of the Guard with bucket and broom;
- the Guard's troubles on the trapeze;
- the chase and the accidents.

Some children, however, remembered sad scenes: "when the Clown returns to the Master with the torn up paper" (Beatrice, 10 years). Three children even chose the episode where the Monkey tears up the Clown's diploma in order to make an airplane.

Few of the children show themselves capable to motivate their preferences. Aside from their tautological statements ("because it's funny and I like it when it's funny" – Muriel 8 years), certain children motivate their selection with their admiration for the sporting or musical feats of our hero.

Others again were impressed by the amorous adventures of Dancer and Clown. Thus, Annie, eight years: "he throws her a flower. If he wouldn't have loved her, he wouldn't have given her a flower"; Michelle, eight years: "he did it to thank her for the heart she's made for him with those cubes"; Nelly, ten years: "I suppose, they'll get married soon".

Certain children justify their pleasure as a result of the wellbeing of the characters: "it gives you a good feeling, when somebody is happy: before, he was sad and he never had a chance. Everybody likes his performance. He was a success" (Laurence, 9 years).

Finally, many children justify their choice by an appreciation of the technical or artistic qualities of the film: "this was beautiful. His whole body was moving around. A good imitation" (Jocelyne, 11 years). A dozen children were impressed by the musical qualities of the film.

A particular question was posed: "what made you laugh most in this picture?". Certain incidents or gags were mentioned frequently, aside from scenes which were already on the list of preference: "when the Chief and the little Clown climbed on the scale" – "when he was in the big crate and the Clown was sitting on top of it" – "when the Clown leaves the crate" – "When he kicks the Guard" – "when the Dog bites the Guard's leg" – "when the Lion falls from his seat" – "the little Dog with his scarf" – "when the Harlequin jumps into the garbage can".

An important number of children (44%) did not find anything they disliked. Others reject the sad episodes: "I don't like sad things". They feel sorry especially for the malevolence or the injustice of which the hero is a victim. Others again criticize this type of film, some because they consider the musical passages too long, some because they miss the spoken word.

When asked whether some passages of the film could have been eliminated, certain children suggest to throw out scenes which they consider extraneous: "the manufacturing of marionettes in the beginning" is considered unnessary by 15 % of the children (it seems by the way that the simultanous appearance of human characters and marionettes embarrasses the children). An almost equal number of children (13%) believe that the musical interludes could have been shortened.

The characters

Almost all the children (96%) consider the Clown the most important character of the film. In order of importance they named: The Guard (43%), the Dog (24%), the Puppeteer (19%), the Dancer (6%).

The children were asked at the same time to classify the characters of the film according to their preference. You will see that the final classification differs a little from that we have just cited. While the great majority of the children places the Clown at the top (78%), 8% of the children nominate the Dancer and 8% the Guard, we find out, that the character considered second in the order of preferance is the Guard in 34% of the cases, the Dog in 26% and the Clown in 15%.

The question "which character of the film you don't like? why?" ambarrasses a certain number of children. Some of them point at its ambiguity: do you mean the acting or the character's role in the story? The rejected characters are listed in the following order: the Guard (31%), the Puppeteers (7,1%), the Deaf (5,1%), the Seal (5,1%), the Monkey (4,1%), the Dog and the Master of the puppets (3,1%).

A certain number of children who say that they don't like the Guard, named him already among the characters they liked: it seems confirming the ambiguity of the question, that they disapprove of the character of the Guard in the story ("he is mean to the Clown"), while they appreciate the acting and his part in the plot ("what I like is, when he is beaten up").

As an answer to the question: "did you feel sorry for one of the characters of the film?", we register a relative high number of no answers (42%). Among those who do give an answer, the majority choses of course the Clown "because he is mistreated" (44%). Then follows the Master (7%) and, paradoxically, the Guard (4%): "he is alone at the and he gets beaten up", (Laurence, 9 years).

Consequently, when asked if they wanted to help someone in the film, the children mention first of all the Clown (64%), then the Guard (5%), "so he should fall less and one should not play him so many tricks" (Philippe, 9 years).

A double question was posed with the aim of directing the attention of the children at a delicate point: "you remember that there were not only marionettes, but also other characters: what were they? what would you say if you were told that the posters also represent characters?" Many children answered haphazardly, but with a negative tendency: 60% No against 34% Yes. Some children granted the Dancer the status of a character, but they denied it to two animals

(Lion and Seal). Those who understood the meaning of the question recognize the existence of a contradiction. They tried to distinguish between marionettes-characters and poster-characters according to various criteria: miraculous animation of pictures; the Clown's dream brings pictures to life; hypothesis of a shadow play à la chinoise, etc.

A question posed in the same spirit wanted to find out what the real characters do in the film. Most of the children point out the practical utility of these characters as animators of marionettes: "somebody had to move these marionettes, after all". The real persons are thus kept outside of the story. Those among the children who grant to these characters their parts in the plot end to present them in an unfavourable light: they are intruders. Generally we can only repeat that the children do not appreciate the simultaneous presence of marionettes and real people in the same story.

Photographic tests

These questions concerning the characters were supplemented by a test which consisted in making the children choose between three stills of the same character, the one they preferred, and to justify their choice. The characters in this test were the Guard, the Puppeteer, the Dancer, the Dachshund.

Choice of the photographs of the Guard

1. – The photograph showing the Guard pulled up and balanced on the trapeze by the Clown was the one selected most of the time (58%), especially by the girls (32 girls to 25 boys). The reasons for this choice were moral and sentimental: "he is ridiculous", "he is punished for his meanness".

2. – The photograph showing the Clown play the trumpet while the Guard, hiding in the folds of a curtain, prepares himself to jump at him, seems to have been selected not because of the Guard but of the Clown (31% – 18 boys, 12 girls).

3. – The photograph showing the Guard in uniform was rarely chosen (10%), but the reason these children gave was quite clear: they were impressed by the uniform: "he is well dressed, it's nicer"; "I like soldiers with all their trimmings".

Choice of the photographs of the Puppeteer

1. – The photograph showing the hand of the Puppeteer stroking the Clown's head, who sits on his foot and cries, was the most frequently selected (49%). The pathetic character of this picture explains the frequency of the choice. Let us once more point out, that the choice is influenced at least as much by the presence of the Clown as by that of the Puppeteer.

2. – The photograph showing the workshop of marionettes with the Puppeteer in the foreground pulling the strings of te Clown was chosen by some children, perhaps for chronological reasons ("that's the beginning of the story"), perhaps because of it's technical interest ("one can see how the Clown learns to play"): 33% with 19 girls and 13 boys.

3. – The third place was taken up by the photograph showing the Puppeteer saluting and smiling. Those who chose it – especially the girls – were inspired by the moving content of this scene, interpreted either because it makes the children feel good (good-by and good wishes) or for melancholy reasons (farewell and loneliness): 17% with 13 girls and 4 boys.

The Dancer

1. – The photograph by far the most popular was that where the Dancer juggles various objects which form a heart in space (67% – 36 boys and 30 girls). The meaning of this symbol motiv-

ates the majority: "that shows, that she is satisfied with what she sees; she is tired of pulling out the thumbtack. She has lifted the corner of her poster and makes a heart. That means she is giving her heart to the Clown".

2. – The photograph showing the Dancer leaning against her umbrella and closing her eyes full of yearning was mainly chosen by the girls (of 28% 19 girls and 8 boys). They explain their preference by using esthetical reasons (graceful, pretty, beautiful and so on).

3. – The photograph showing the Dancer on her poster, the corner of which is bent to hide her face, was chosen least of all (4%). Those who picked it always refer to the same incident (the poster alternatingly hides and reveals the face of the Dancer), but it is differently interpreted: fear of the Guard, fear that the Clown could fall, bashfulness.

With the help of this play with photographs the children's interpretations revealed themselves in the most varying, most subjective and richest manner.

The Dachshund

1. – The photograph showing the Dachshund pursuing the Guard and trying to bite his calve was slightly preferred to the others (38%). We recognize here the attraction of poetic justice: "he punishes the mean Guard".

2. – The photograph showing the Dachshund with a scarf around his head hiding his eyes and ears was mostly chosen by the girls. Incidentally, they rarely understood what he suffers from (the musical stammering of his Master threatens his eardrums). But they feel sorry for him: "he's just back from the dentist. His teeth ache". (35%, 24 girls and 10 boys).

3. – The photograph showing the Clown and the Dachshund head to head, crying together, was chosen the least. It is prefered by the boys (of 27% we counted 17 boys and 9 girls). It is a scene of consolation, whereby the children appreciate the pathos of friendship.

Defining the photographs according to their importance

Another photographic test consisted in making the children arrange twelve photographs in two groups of six: the first group would consist of those pictures considered very important, the second of those of less importance. If we allot a point to each photograph considered very important by every child, it follows that each photograph will get a mark of 0 (not chosen) to 98 (chosen by all the children).

The series of these twelve photographs arranged according to the mark thus obtained, confirm the commentaries of the children during the preciding tests. The pictures where the Clown is present (the most prefered character) were chosen by more than 50% of the children. Those showing the Puppeteers (characters considered superfluous) or the posters (ambiguous characters) consequently receive the lowest marks. The photograph showing the Clown's victory (where he is presented with his diploma) comes out on top of the list with 73% of the votes, whereas that showing the deaf man, a character which poses the first obstacle in the path of the Clown, is found on the bottom of the list with 31% of the votes. Between these two extreme groups three photographs stick out by their already mentioned ambiguities: two of them show the Guard, a character indifferent or at the same time prefered or detested; the third one shows the Clown and his violin, which means on the one hand the prefered character, but on the other and an allusion to a music wich in this film is either too important or too monotonous.

Test of the list of the adjectives

The children had to fill out, before the screening of the film, a questionnaire composed of a list of adjectives intending to characterize the Clown. They were to attribute to each adjective one of these four opinions: entirely true – almost true – untrue – don't know.

After the screening of the film they were to repeat the same test on the same list, but this time in order to characterize the personality of the clown himself.

The adjectives used for the French part of the survey were:

Funny, comical
Melancholy, sad
Good
Stupid, dumb
Insolent, impertinent
Exuberant, gushing
Bragging, boasting
Inventive
Sensitive, tender
Lonely, helpless
Spirited
Nice, charming
Pigheaded, stubborn
Ambitious
Successful
Modest
Serious, grave
Timid
Easily vexed
Lazy

Deductions of the first test (before the screening)

With the help of this test we wanted ot find out ideas the children had about the clown in general, before they were influenced by the Clown in the film.

The adjectives accepted as "entirely true" by more than 50% of the children were:

A clown is:	– funny, comical	84%
	– spirited	79%
	– nice, charming	74%
	– successful	74%
	– exuberant, gushing	70%

(Then follows at great distance: good – 44%)

The adjectives rejected as "untrue" by more than 50% of the children were:

A clown is not:	– melancholy, sad	72%
	– lonely, helpless	71%
	– serious, grave	64%
	– insolent, impertinent	56%
	– sensitive, tender	55%
	– timid	52%

Adjectives resulting in the highest percentage of hesitation ("almost true" and "don't know") are:

I don't know if a clown is:	– good	51%
	– pigheaded, stubborn	44%
	– modest	42%
	– inventive	39%
	– ambitious	36%
	– lazy	31%

There remain three adjectives – stupid – bragging – easily vexed – which don't fit into any of the three categories. It is not easy to know whether the hesitation concerning them conveys the difficultiy to understand the literal meaning of the adjective or that of knowing, if this meaning can be applied to a clown. It seems that the youngest children pronounce the clown most easily as stupid, dumb; likewise the girls pronounce him as modest more often than the boys.

The categories good and melancholy, sad received two strong percentages, each one in two distinct categories:

a clown is:	true	don't know or almost true	untrue
good	44%	50%	6%
melancholy	0%	26%	72%

In other words: the children are generally sure that a clown is neither melancholy nor sad. On the other hand, while they are not ready to state that a clown is not good, neither are they prepared to affirm that a clown must be necessarily good.

Conclusions of the second test (after the screening)

This second test was to determine the image of the real Clown Ferdl in the minds of the children, confronted by the idea of a clown they had before the screening.

The adjectives appearing on top of the second list are the same as those we saw at the top of the first one:

Clown Ferdl is:	– successfull	81%	(+ 7%)
	– nice, charming	77%	(+ 3%)
	– funny, comical	76%	(— 8%)
	– good	72%	(+ 28%)
	– spirited	71%	(— 8%)

The adjective exuberant, gushing, which was on fifth place on the first list goes back to the 7.th place on the second list with 41% of "entirely true" (– 29%).

The adjectives rejected as "untrue" are now (up to 50% of rejection):

Clown Ferdl is not:	– lazy	70%	(+ 22%)
	– timid	68%	(+ 16%)
	– insolent, impertinent	62%	(+ 6%)
	– stupid, dumb	59%	(+ 18%)
	– bragging	57%	(+ 25%)
	– pigheaded	56%	(+ 31%)
	– easy to be vexed	54%	(+ 7%)
	– lonely	54%	(— 17%)
	– serious, grave	53%	(— 11%)

The adjectives causing the strongest hesitation are now:

I don't know whether a clown is:

– melancholy	46% (+ 19%)
– inventive	40% (+ 1%)
– modest	39% (— 3%)
– lonely	33% (+ 12%)
– sensitive	31% (+ 8%)

The percentage of the adjectives presenting Clown Ferdl as likable increased in comparison with the general image of a clown of the first test. Thus the qualifications *inventive* (52% of "entirely true" against 41% in the first test), *good* (72% against 44%), *melancholy, sad* (10% against 0%), *sensitive, tender* (30% against 22%), *modest* (33% against 27%), *lonely, helpless* (13% against 8%), have gained, whereas the percentage of disapproving adjectives is lower. Thus the assessment *pigheaded, stubborn* (20% against 31%), *exuberant, gushing* (41% against 70%), *bragging, boasting* (19% against 43%), *lazy* (9% against 21%), *stupid, dumb* (14% against 27%), *timid* (9% against 20%), *insolent, impertinent* (11% against 21%) have likewise decreased. The adjectives *easy to be vexed* and *ambitious* remain unchanged, maybe because of the difficulty in grasping the meaning of these words.

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THE ENGLISH REPORT

Introduction

The film 'Clown Ferdl' is of particular interest to a social scientist because of the inclusion of real people in a puppet film and because love scenes are enacted by symbolism, an unusual occurrence in a film intended for this age.

Frank (1955), Keilhacker, Brudny and Lammers (1957) have suggested that nine year olds are incapable of understanding the interrelation of scenes and this hypothesis was put to the test in the study. Piaget (1926), whose work is highly relevant in studying the television understanding of five to eight year olds argues that at seven years the child enters a stage called 'concrete operations', which continues until twelve years when the stage called 'formal operations' commences. It is in the formal operations stage that the child thinks like an adult. The processes that enable such thinking to come about are those of the transitions between reality and objectivity, reality and reciprocity and reality to relativity. These in the order listed involve the differentiation between the child's inner and the external world; the differentiation between a point where self is absolute and one where other points of view are possible and the differentiation between the use of absolute standards to the use of relative standards. Earlier work ('Patrik and Putrik' report) indicates that the five year old cannot differentiate between his internal and external world.

It was expected that with the 8 to 12 year old children there would be considerable evidence of the transition from reality to both reciprocity and relativity. The limitations of the 'concrete operations' period are that the child has not acquired a full concept of time and cannot simultaneously admit the conservation of weight, volume and mass. It was expected that the twelve year olds would be significantly better at recalling the story than would the young children. It was felt that eight and nine year old children would concentrate on predicting the major events of the story at the cost of irrelevant detail, since children in the 'concrete operations' stage cannot synthesize various forms of conversation simultaneously.

The transitions from reality to objectivity, reciprocity, relativity were studied in terms of attitude change to the 'clowns' in the film. It was expected that eight and nine year old children would have more stereotyped conceptions of a clown before than after viewing the film, whilst ten, eleven and twelve year old children would be more aware of other points of view about clowns and would show smaller changes in attitudes. It was also anticipated that eight and nine year old children would still be making the transitions from realism to reciprocity and relativity whilst ten, eleven and twelve year old children would have made such transitions. As the eight and nine year old children would still be making the transition from realism to objectivity it was expected that they would become more emotionally involved in the film and that this involvement would be reflected in the amount of attitude change.

Since 'realism' has been shown by Piaget to be the starting point of a child's thinking and because the dimension proved so useful in the 'Patrik and Putrik' (1968) report, children's ratings of the reality of 'Clown Ferdl' were assessed, the hypothesis being that eight and nine year old children's reality assessments would be higher than the reality assessments of older children. It was also hypothesized that 'reality' ratings would relate to role-identification and the social interaction patterns of the child.

There is considerable confusion amongst psychologists and sociologists as to what is "identification". The author feels that many of the commonly used definitions of identification represent an oversimplification of the process. In the televiewing situation a variety of models may be presented. Even though these may not been seen as being like the viewer or as causing the viewer to be envious of the model's status, it is suggested that it is possible for the viewer to become emotionally involved in that situation. Identification is here defined in terms of emotional involvement in the film.

It is suggested that one mechanism by which such involvement may occur is role identification. If one model is presenting a role which is similar to the roles portrayed by some person known to the child, the child may become involved in the situation. For example, if the role of a teacher is being portrayed which the child sees as resembling the role of a teacher known to him, the child may adopt the roles he normally adopts in that situation. Consequently, identification in this sense does not necessarily involve the direct adoption of the role portrayed in the film. Moreover, the child may see the role positions of several of the characters being viewed and he may make for himself a combination or permutation of role playing characters or situations. Some such combinations or permutations may lead the child to adopt a role for himself when viewing, which he has never experienced in real life.

The more the role portrayals resemble those acted out by people in situations known to the child viewer the more likely and the more intense will be the child's emotional involvement in that situation and the more 'real' the film is likely to be for that child. This whole area was examined by asking the children whom the characters they viewed were like and why they thought such similarities existed.

The sample

It was originally planned to interview one hundred school children, twenty (ten boys and ten girls) at each of the ages eight, nine, ten, eleven and twelve years. In the event, forty-seven girls and fifty-four boys were interviewed and there were twenty-three eight year olds but only eighteen nine year olds. The children were randomly selected at the given ages from three schools in an urban area all of which cater for a mixed population of middle and working class children.

Method

A questionnaire was constructed mainly on the basis of the hypothesis outlined in the introduction. Parts of the questionnaire were administered before and after viewing the film. Each child was individually interviewed by a trained interviewer. Immediately before and immediately after viewing the film the child was asked to rate a number of statements about 'clowns' on a five point true to false dimension. Particular attention was given to the reality-fantasy dimension of the film, the understanding of the 'love' scenes, identification of, identification with, and the use of two dimensional posters as characters. The child was also asked to rate the film in terms of Osgoods (1957) dimensions of meaning. Comprehension was assessed by asking the child to 'tell the story of the film exactly as it happened' and by photograph sequencing tasks.

The questionnaire was revised after a pilot interview of some thirty-two children, and their answers used to pre-code answers which were typed below each question. The interviewers were instructed to tick one or more of the answers if applicable, otherwise all the children's answers were written down verbatim, as they had been during the administration of the pilot questionnaire.

Answers were then coded, counted and chi-squared or analysis of variance applied dependant on whether the answers were qualitative (open-ended question) or quantitative (attitude ratings)

Evaluation

Children were asked to make two assessments of 'Clown Ferdl' as a prize winning film. They were given a drawing of a 'chest of drawers' with five drawers labelled in order – programmes I like best, programmes I like, programmes I like a little, programmes I do not like and programmes I don't like at all, respectively scored 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. They were asked to put 'Clown Ferdl' in one of the drawers in relation to other television programmes seen. The average assessment for all the children was 1.91 which places 'Clown Ferdl' in the 'programmes I like' category but not in the 'programme I like best' category. Contrasting the various assessments of children of different ages it was found that eight and nine year old children (1.41) liked the film significantly more than ten, eleven and twelve year old children (2.27). Twelve year olds liked the film significantly less than did children of eight to eleven years of age. Eight and nine year old children place

Ferdl between 'programmes I like best' and 'programmes I like' (1.41), ten and eleven year old children in 'programmes I like' (2.05), whilst twelve year old children placed it in 'programmes I like a little'. There were no differences between the assessment of boys and girls (mean of 1.91 each).

However, as shown in the 'Patrik and Putrik' report, absolute evaluation is misleading and consequently children were asked to name their two favourite television programmes, and two programmes they had seen, but disliked most. These programmes were placed on a drawing of a similar chest of drawers and 'most popular programmes' written in the top drawer and 'least popular programmes' written in the bottom drawer. They were then asked to put 'Clown Ferdl' into any one of the five drawers. The overall mean was 2.49 which is between 'popular' programmes and programmes of 'average' appeal. Similar significant differences as reported above were again apparent between ages.

Results comparable to those for evaluation in context were obtained when children were asked to rate the film 'Clown Ferdl' in terms of three or five point attitude scales, using the evaluative scales of a modified version of the semantic differential.

Clearly the sampled 'children' would not have awarded a Prix-Jeunesse prize to 'Clown Ferdl'. The film is of greater appeal to eight and nine year olds rather than to ten and eleven year old children. Twelve year olds were very antagonistic to the film. These results suggest firstly that the film is more suited to six to nine year olds and secondly, that the Prix-Jeunesse age categories have no obvious grounding in child psychology and probably need revising.

The children were asked to rate the film using three or five point semantic differential scales, and they considered the programme to be fast moving, novel, not frightening and neither strong nor weak.

In the 'Patrik and Putrik' report reality assessments were found to relate to many interesting variables. Piaget (1926) argues that a child learns to think like an adult by making transitions from a state of reality. A score was calculated for the reality dimension (real, true) with a range of two (real) to eight (unreal). The average score for all children was 6.50 indicating that most children felt the puppet film, in which real people made appearances, to be unreal. There were however, interesting differences between the age groups. Eight year olds thought that the film was more real (5.70) than ten year olds (6.88) or twelve year olds (6.90). Nine year olds (6.56) and eleven year olds (6.50) rated the film between the eight and twelve year olds assessments.

It would appear that the transition from reality to objectivity is not complete at eight years. This is most probably due to the inclusion of real people in the film from whom the child cannot dissociate himself, until he makes the transition from realism to relativity. After this latter transition he can compare 'Clown Ferdl' with other films that he has seen. There was also a significant difference between the reality assessments of boys (6.64) and girls (6.30). It would appear that girls are less able to differentiate between their internal and external worlds than are boys of equivalent age. As found in the 'Patrik and Putrik' study, reality assessments were significantly related to the number of friends the child reported he had.

Attitude change

Attitudes to clowns were assessed both immediately before and immediately after transmission and viewing of the film 'Clown Ferdl'. These attitudes consisted of a sentence about a clown and one of five choices were elicited in the Likert Scale tradition. The children were asked to assess for twenty-seven sentences whether such sentences were very true, true, neither true nor untrue, untrue or very untrue, respectively scored, 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5.

The film does not rely on the conventional stereotype of the clown, it shows the full development of the clown from inexperience (particularly with regard to learning to play musical instruments) to success and portrays emotional moments, especially of sadness. It was hypothesized therefore that after viewing, there would be a shift away from the stereotyped perception of a clown towards a perception of a clown as a person.

This hypothesis was substantiated since after viewing the film children saw 'clowns' as being significantly more sad, more musical, less stupid, less cheeky, more clever, more successfull, less quarrelsome, more industrious, more serious, less boasting and less rude than they did before viewing. The stereotyped perception of a clown is therefore one of stupidity, cheekyness, lazyness, flippancy, bigheadedness and happiness. After viewing the film the clown is seen far more as the person portrayed in the film, who has to achieve success by hard work and whose life is not always happy.

Differences between ages were hypothesized. Piaget (1926) argues that the ways in which a child learns to think as does an adult, is via the transitions from realism to objectivity, realism to reciprocity and from realism to relativity. In the transition from realism to reciprocity the child realizes that points of view other than his own are possible; and in the transition from realism to relativity he comes to realize that standards are relative rather than absolute. Hence one can expect eight and nine year old children to have more absolute stereotyped conceptions of a clown before as distinct from after viewing the film, whilst ten, eleven and twelve year old children even before the film would be more aware that 'clowns' are not stereotyped and consequently with these children there would be somewhat smaller change in the same direction.

It was further expected that such changes would not take place where a general change in attitude had taken place. It was hypothesized that changes which took place for all ages would be related to the content of the film as previously reported. It was also expected that children at different ages would differ in their more general preconceptions of a clown not immediately related to the content of the film.

Analysis substantiated this hypothesis. In only two scales out of six in which differences between ages were calculated was there a shift in general attitudes. These were for 'a clown is sad' and for 'a clown boasts'. For a clown is sad, eight and nine year old children, after viewing the film, thought a clown was more sad whereas ten and eleven year old children thought a clown to be significantly less sad. After viewing the film, all children felt that 'a clown boasts' was more untrue, but eight year olds felt that it was significantly more untrue than ten, eleven and twelve year old children. The former finding may indicate that the transition from realism to objectivity is not complete at nine years. It may be that the eight and nine year old empathizes more with the clown, and hence feels his sadness when he is sad, more than do ten and eleven year old children. The finding relating to 'a clown boasts' possibly reflects the fact that children of nine have made, as hypothesized, smaller progress in the transition from realism to reciprocity. Eight year old children may have thought that a clown boasts and were more surprised to learn from the film that a clown does not boast than were ten to twelve year old children, who by this age, have become more aware of the existance of several points of view about clowns.

Based on the transition to relativity, it was hypothesized that eight and nine year old children would be more influenced by the film in their attitude change, since the film is seen as the absolute criterion. Therefore attitude changes could reflect a change from one clown stereotype or absolute to another. On the other hand, ten, eleven and twelve year old children are aware of relative standards and can compare Clown Ferdl with other clowns. In this exercise eight and nine year old children would think of a clown as more famous after the film (since the clown achieves fame in the film), whereas ten, eleven and twelve year old children would see the clown as less famous than the other clowns in their experience.

The results for the two statements 'a clown is funny' and 'a clown is famous' support this view. Younger children appear to judge in terms of the absolute standards portrayed in the film, whereas older children make judgments of the clown in the film relative to other clowns.

Compared with the before viewing situation ten year old children considered that a clown was less friendly after viewing. There was a significant difference on this score with both the eight and eleven year olds who felt the clown to be more friendly after viewing. Perhaps this indicates that the eight year olds empathizing with the clown and not considering him objectively have not fully completed the transition from realism to objectivity. Ten year olds having progressed to objectivity may have an absolute conception of a clown as friendly and are influenced by the film to assess the clown as being less friendly than their absolute conception. They are therefore making the transition from realism to reciprocity. Eleven year olds on the other hand are making a relative assessment of the Clown Ferdl as compared with other clowns and consequently see him as being more friendly than other clowns perhaps indicating progress in the transition from realism to relativity. Similar results were obtained for the statement that 'a clown is frightened'. Piaget argues that the three processes of transition from realism take place simultaneously and that the stages overlap. He suggests that the transition from realism to objectivity takes place before the other two which blend together yet in general terms it would seem that in the attitude change assessments already discussed, they are hierarchically arranged, in the order of objectivity, reciprocity and relativity.

Further analysis was conducted based on the aggregation of attitude change scores for evaluation statements (based on Osgood's classification, i. e. sad, cheeky, clever, happy etc.); for activity statements (acts quickly, stupidly, lazily etc.); potency statements (stubborn, works hard, rude etc.) and for stability statements (good tempered, quarrels and frightened). As expected evaluation and stability (the clown in the film is seen as persevering and patient) were rated higher after viewing and there was no significant difference in the activity rate of the clown. As far as 'potency' is concerned the children rated the clown significantly more serious and hard working after viewing.

Comprehension

Following Piaget's work on cognitive structure and development it was hypothesized that there would be differences in the amount of the film comprehended between the eight to eleven year olds (concrete operations stage) and the twelve year olds (formal operations stage).

The children were asked to tell the story of the film and to relate the events in the order in which they occurred. A check list of ninety-two incidents in order was provided and the interviewer recorded each incident as it was recalled and the order in which it was recalled. On average the children recalled twenty-one incidents; twenty-three per cent of the ninety-two discrete incidents in the film. Eight year olds (14) recalled significantly fewer incidents than either eleven or twelve year olds (25 and 29 respectively).

A score was also calculated for the number of incidents recalled in order. On average twenty incidents were recalled in order, only three percent fewer than the number of incidents recalled. Children of eight and above are therefore able to recall incidents in the order in which they occur indicating they have a grasp of the story line. There were, however, significant differences between the ages in the number of incidents recalled in order. Eight year old children (12 incidents) recalled significantly fewer incidents, than either the eleven year olds (23 incidents) or twelve year olds (27 incidents). Nine year olds (12 incidents) recalled significantly fewer incidents in order than twelve year olds. The hypothesis that there would be a difference between the eight to eleven year old children and the twelve year old children was therefore rejected but it should be remembered that the children were asked simply to recall concrete incidents.

It will be seen that the nine year old recalls more incidents but that he does not do so in the correct order. This may suggest that there is some sort of balance which has to be maintained between plot comprehension and perception and recall of incidents since the child seems unable to do both. It may be that the eight and nine year old children are concerned with mastering the logical sequence of events at the cost of ignoring incidents less relevant to the main story line, whereas the eleven and twelve year old has no difficulty in plot comprehension and in remembering incidents not relevant to the story. As expected there was no significant difference between the number of incidents recalled in order by boys (22) and girls (18).

In an attempt to assess the ability to understand the story line of the film, the children were presented with twelve photographs from the film and asked to place them in the order in which they occurred in the film. Eight year olds (4.26) placed significantly more photographs out of order than did ten (2.16) eleven (2.58) and twelve (2.95) year olds and nine year olds (3.28) placed significantly more photographs out of order than did ten year olds (2.16). Although not statistically significant, eleven and twelve year olds made more mistakes than did ten year olds, this finding may reflect the previously indicated hostility of the older children to the film. There is some evidence of a critical gap between the nine and ten year old child. The fact that plot is not perfectly comprehended by eight and nine year old children may relate to the development of time concepts, Vernon (1965). Without accurate 'time concepts' the child is unlikely to be entirely accurate in placing the photographs in order as reported above. It would appear that at ten years the child is as capable as he ever will be at comprehending the story of a film produced for children (i. e. without emotional interplay between the sexes). As expected there were no significant differences on this score between boys (3.15) or girls (3.02).

Role identification

The children were asked 'Is Clown Ferdl like anyone you know?' and if so 'why?' Identical questions were also asked for the ringmaster and puppet player. Only one child identified with Clown Ferdl in the sense that when he was asked 'Is Clown Ferdl like anyone you know?' he replied 'me'. Of the eighty-nine children asked this question twenty-three children (twenty-six per cent) thought Clown Ferdl was like someone they knew. Identification of these 'people' fell into four distinct categories, namely family, close friends, distant friends and neighbours or stereotyped conceptions such as "Coco the clown" or other characters on television. The reasons given for such choices showed that identification of had taken place. Answers such as "he is funny", "stupid" and "not fight back" suggest that the child has related the role of the clown in the film to the roles portrayed by people that the child knows.

The same four categories of answer were evident for both the ringmaster and the puppet player. The most frequent answer for the ringmaster was the class or school 'bully' although fathers and elder brothers were frequently mentioned. The reasons given for such choices show clearly that the "identification of" involves the child emotionally in the film. Children answered "he hits me", "he threatens me" and "he bullies me" whether the choice was made for father or school bully.

This suggests that the child can become emotionally involved in a film (without necessarily making an "identification with" choice) by adopting a role associated with the role portrayed on the screen (provided it is a role played by someone with whom the child is familiar). Foote (1951) argues that "when one enters a new situation he attempts to relate it to old ones by familiar signs, and his response may be automatic... He must start from what is most definite, find some given elements in it". Horton and Wohl (1956) say "The enactment of a para-social role may therefore constitute an exploration and development of new role possibilities. It may offer a recapitulation of roles no longer played – roles which, perhaps, are no longer possible". Both these explanations are relevant to this aspect of the study.

There were no significant differences between the number of identification choices made by different age groups, but boys made significantly more such choices (mean 1.20/3) than did girls (0.82/3). This was as expected since all the characters in the film were masculine.

It was argued that children who made 'identification of' choices would be emotionally involved in the film since in viewing they would have enacted the roles associated with the persons they saw as similar to the television character. Such children would be more emotionally involved than would children who made no such choices. Since children who made 'identification of' choices are considered to be emotionally involved in the film it was felt that the film would be more 'real' for these children, and for the children who made no such choices the film would be seen as 'unreal'. This hypothesis was accepted, children who made two or three 'identification of' choices rated the film as being significantly more unreal than did children who made one or no 'identification of' choices. The difference between the three children who made all the three 'identification of' choices which were possible, and those thirty children who made no such choices were most striking. The former children, on average, rated the film as 4.83/8 (unreal) whereas the latter group, on average, rated the film as 6.45/8 (unreal) which is statistically significant.

'Identification with' was clearly exhibited when the children were asked if they felt sorry for the puppets. It was not hypothesized that any child would feel sorry for the ringmaster, but seven children aged eight and nine years, did feel sorry for him (significantly more than the ten to twelve year olds). Fifty per cent of the children felt sorry for the clown. The reasons given for these answers were that the characters were 'hit in the face'. One quarter of the children, who had felt sorry for the puppets, did so because they were hit in the face. In fact the clown was never hit in the face, so four children had misplaced these incidents, since only seven children reported feeling sorry for the ringmaster. These answers suggest role-identification since 'identification with' is less likely with the ringmaster. It was the twelve year olds who felt sorry for the puppets when hit in the face, whereas young children (significantly so when compared with the other ages) were more concerned for the puppets when they fell over or when the monkey tore up the certificate. When asked why they felt sorry, eleven per cent of the children said 'that's how I would feel', demonstrating that the child is capable of putting himself into situations portrayed in the film.

The 'identification of' questions yielded interesting qualitative data of a projective nature in relation to both school and family situations.

Qualities of the film

'Clown Ferdl' is unusual in that 'love' scenes are enacted symbolically (i. e. the dancer juggles a heart shape for the clown) and it was not expected that eight and nine year old children would understand such symbolism. It was found that eight year olds, when asked what happened between the clown and the dancer, were significantly more inclined to have given descriptive or don't know answers, rather than answers which indicated a true understanding of the emotional interplay between the two characters. Further analysis revealed that such understanding was due mainly to the fact that the two characters looked at each other, or that the dancer only danced to the clowns music. Only children of ten to twelve years, as hypothesized, recalled the symbolic cues, namely the clown giving a flower to the dancer and the dancer juggling a heart shape, and then only eight children (8 per cent) commented on such cues. Twenty-five of the children of all ages only knew that the clown and dancer had fallen in 'love' at the very end of the film, because it was at this point that the clown was seen sitting holding the trapeze dancer poster. Children of eight to twelve years do not therefore readily respond to the type of 'cues' to which adults can be expected to respond.

When asked which poster character the clown liked best, only ten children (10%) didn't know or gave the wrong answer, and these children were significantly of eight to ten years (inclusive). Significantly more children of ten to twelve years (25%) made use of the symbolic cues than did children of eight and nine years (6%). This corresponds to the previously reported differences in comprehension between the nine and ten year olds. It appears that accurate 'plot' comprehension is linked with the recognition of symbolic cues which are not interpreted by children of eight and nine years.

An interesting characteristic of 'Clown Ferdl' is the inclusion of 'real people' in a puppet film. Only one child did not report seeing 'real' people in the film, which suggests that the transition from realism to objectivity is well under way at eight years. The 'real people' were seen by seventy-four per cent of the children as the 'owners' of the puppets whilst only twenty per cent of the children saw them as puppet manipulators. The puppets in this film are seen therefore as animal pets, with a licence to perform independent actions and at the same time the 'owners' are seen to have the responsibility of looking after or helping the puppets. Only three percent of the children thought that the 'real people' were included in the film to make the film more realistic although half of the children thought the inclusion of 'real people' to have been a good idea. The 'intention' of the film maker was to include puppets so that one could see how people make puppets work. This is perceived by only 3% of the children.

Children's reactions to the use of two dimensional posters were obtained. When asked whether the posters were actors, thirty-two per cent thought they were,whilst sixty-two per cent thought they were not, the remainder being undecided. Twelve year olds were significantly more adamant that the posters were not actors than were children of younger ages. The onset of the 'formal operations' stage in which the child begins to think like an adult, apparently produces a rejection of childhood fantasy.

The rejection of fantasy does not carry over into the affective domain, since eighty-four per cent of the children (equally from all ages) considered the poster idea to have been a good one. Twelve year olds liked the idea, specifically because it was novel (21%) and because the posters provided an audience for the clown (25%).

Only two children (two %) noticed that the trapeze poster communicated by moving its corner up and down and these children as with the perception of important cues, were aged ten years and older.

Conclusions and discussion

One of the main findings was that twelve year old children rejected fantasy portrayal in favour of realistic portrayal. For these children cognitive and affective appraisal differed. Although they rejected the concept that the two-dimensional posters were 'actors' they liked the technique because it was unusual and interesting. The cognitive/affective differences were not apparent with the eight to eleven year old children. This follows Piaget's reasoning that in the concrete operations stage (eight to eleven years) the child cannot simultaneously admit conservation of different attributes. A child is able to do this at twelve years.

However, there is no clear link between the onset of these stages and the comprehension of the film story by children. This is not surprising since the tasks required of the children were all 'concrete' in nature and a primary distinction between concrete and formal operations is that in formal operations the child can cope with hypothetical concepts, whereas in concrete operations the child can only cope with phenomena which are immediately before him. It was found that there was a significant difference in the comprehension of the story of the film between eight and nine year old children on the one hand and older children on the other. It is only the ten to twelve year old child who recalls the symbolic cues which are not perceived or interpreted by younger children. There would seem to be a mechanism at work by which eight and nine year old children concentrate on comprehending the 'story line' at the cost of recalling what are classified as irrelevant details. Ten to twelve year old children can cope with both the story line and the detail (classified by younger children as irrelevant). Further, the detail is seen by these older children as relevant or as 'clues' to the comprehension of the story line. The significant difference in the abilities of the nine, as opposed to the ten year old child suggests that a strict interpretation of the 'concrete operations' stage (as covering the period seven to eleven years) is not particularly useful (being too wide) for television research. Seven to nine year old children may be said to be in a 'predictive logic' stage. Whereas ten and eleven year olds may be said to have progressed into a 'predictive logic and detail' stage. But much more confirmation from research will be required before this can be firmly established.

Piaget argues that the mechanisms by which the 'formal operations' stage is achieved are the transitions from reality to objectivity, reciprocity and relativity. Twelve year olds rated the film significantly less real than did younger children. Younger children therefore have made less progress in such transitions than have older children. The transitions from reality to objectivity were found to be incomplete for the eight and nine year old children. These children rated 'clowns' as being more sad and more friendly after viewing the film, thereby indicating a degree of emotional involvement or a lack of objectivity. The transition from realism to reciprocity is marked in that the child is now aware that points of view, other than his own, are possible. Ten year old children had an absolute conception of a clown as being friendly before the film, yet after the film they considered him to be less friendly, thus admitting two points of view about clowns. Eleven year olds (who considered the clown to be more friendly after viewing) may be seen as providing evidence of the transition from realism to relativity, the clown probably being judged in relation to other clowns. It must be emphasized that these explanations are tentative and again the need for more systematic research is fully accepted.

Clear evidence of role or 'para-social' identification was found. If the indicator of 'identification with' is accepted only one child identified with any character, whereas over half of the children recognized the roles of the characters portrayed as being similar to the roles enacted by people they knew (identification of). It is claimed that role identification causes emotional involvement in the film because the children who made more role-identification choices thought the film to be more real than did children who made few such choices. Examination of qualitative answers gives further support to this line of thought.

It is suggested here that emotional involvement when viewing television will be better understood if rather than sticking to conventional identification approaches, we develop work along the lines of role identification or 'identification of' as outlined above. This, together with several other possible changes and developments should be borne in mind when future Prix-Jeunesse research plans are being considered.

Finally, it is worth noting that for the English child audience, 'Clown Ferdl' was not really a 'prize winner'. Taken together with the 'Patrik and Putrik' results this raises the question: Why was it selected? Jury decisions (and producer intentions) must surely be studied in future research. Moreover, this study also throws some doubt on the usefulness of the age categories used by Prix-Jeunesse. To place eight year olds and twelve year olds in the same appreciation or comprehension group is to say the least, a questionable practice. What is the logic behind the categories? Should they be revised?

Grant Noble

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THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPORT

For Czechoslovakian Television the study was carried out by a team of 13 drawn from the Programme Section of the Department for Children's and Young People's Programmes.

The sample consisted of a group of 100 children between the ages of 8 and 12 with 10 boys and 10 girls of each age level. All the children came from the same school, and the teachers had taken care to select children for the sample whose knowledge and abilities were in line with the class average. The criterion used to this end was the quarterly report.

As agreed on in the preliminary discussion in Munich, some of the answers were recorded on tape, and others in writing.

I. General rating

1) In a first ballot at the beginning of the interview, the respondents rated the "Clown Ferdl" programme as follows in comparison with other television programmes:

	8 year olds		9 year olds		10 year olds		11 year olds		12 year olds	
Marks	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
1	10	10	6	6	10	4	9	—	4	—
2	—	—	4	4	—	6	1	10	6	8
3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Totals: Mark 1 . . . . 59%
2 . . . . 39%
3 . . . . 2%

Key: Mark 1 = My favourite programmes
2 = Good programmes
3 = Programmes I quite like
4 = Programmes I don't like much
5 = Programmes I don't like at all

2) On the repetition of this ballot at the end of the interview, the children rated the programme as follows:

	8 year olds		9 year olds		10 year olds		11 year olds		12 year olds	
Marks	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
1	7	8	6	9	9	6	10	10	4	1
2	3	2	4	1	1	4	—	—	6	8
3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

For purposes of comparison:

Marks	1st Rating	2nd Rating	
1	59	70	+ 11
2	39	29	—10
3	2	1	— 1

3) In a third rating task the respondents were asked to form a three-phase rating list out of programmes they knew, and place a card with "Clown Ferdl" written on it in what they considered its correct place in relation to the others.

"Clown Ferdl" was rated as follows

Respts.	Marks	8 year olds	9 year olds	10 year olds	11 year olds	12 year olds
33	1	16	—	10	—	7
50	1–2	4	11	10	14	11
15	2	—	9	—	6	—
2	2–3	—	9	—	6	—
2	3	—	—	—	—	2

Key: Mark 1 = An excellent programme
2 = I quite liked the programme
3 = I did not like it at all

II. The clown

Lists containing 32 adjectives were filled in by the respondents before and after the programme. The task was to decide, with the aid of a 4-phase scale to what extent the adjectives applied to the clown. (Clown perception before and after the programme). For a detailed analysis of the results we must refer the reader to the original text. The following table shows the different ratings before and after the programme:
A comparison of the ideas of the children as to the character of a clown in general /before the programme/, and the ratings they gave to " Clown Ferdl" after seeing the programme make it possible to deduce what influence the programme had on the the children to make them take a particularly strong view of the positive aspects of this character /diligence, honesty, friendship, integrity; one should not be rude, lazy, cheeky, forward, etc./

III. Task: retelling the story

For the registration of the reproduction (retelling of the story) the programme was divided into 92 passages (cf. appendix: the numbering given by the Czechoslovakian team) so that the frequency with which the individual passages were named could be represented as a graph (cf. diagram in the original text).

As this graph shows, the following scenes were best remembered by the children:

100% of the respondents . . . . 11 – Ferdl is practising the violin, but only succeeds in making horrible noises.
80 – The Guard lowers the trapeze with the winch.
81 – The Guard falls on the trapeze and is wound up by Ferdl.
83 – Ferdl goes to the organ and plays a grand solo

	after	before	
	the programme		
friendly	100	79	
clever	100	75	
hard-working	99	75	
not lazy	99	76	
not bragging	99	81	
musical	98	77	
not rude	98	89	
not stupid	98	52	
not easily offended	98	61	
not lazy-minded	97	82	
not cheeky	93	57	
not loud-mouthed	92	41	
not stubborn	89	39	/a little/
lively	88	86	
good-natured	88	76	
modest	87	57	
not fearful	83	57	
not bold	79	81	
not excited	78	61	
famous	77	62	
honest	77	61	
inventive	74	83	
successful	74	56	
not frisky	65	42	/a little/
funny	64	82	
ambitious	62	52	
a little melancholy	54	62	
not outcast	54	49	
happy	49	79	
sensitive	48	39	
a little sad	47	53	
serious	42	45	/a little/

90% of the respondents . . . . 76 – The chase round the arena. Ferdl is thrown up onto the trapeze from the springboard.
77 – Ferdl balances on the trapeze somewhat anxiously.

85% of the respondents . . . . 9 – Ferdl is shut in in the bathroom.
73 – The Guard chases Ferdl in circles round the ring.
92 – The Puppeteer draws the circus curtain to one side. Ferdl is sitting in the middle of the ring with the beautiful Dancer at his side.

This means that the children particularly well remembered all the turning points of the story, especially those in which the hero was in danger and escaped from it. It is good to note that the children's concentration increased towards the end of the story (cf. the high numbers of the passages mentioned) and that their attention increased.

The following scenes made the least impression:

15% of the respondents . . . . 11 – The Puppeteers and Puppets take their hands away from their ears with an expression of relief.
10% of the respondents . . . . 47 – The Rope Dancer listens to Ferdl's playing.
5% of the respondents . . . . 51 – Ferdl kneels before her and plays.

Thus it was the secondary episodes which were least remembered.

IV. Preferences

1) Answers relating to the programme as a whole

Best liked (some respondents mentioned several things):

a) The episode with the trapeze was the most popular. Ferdl's skill, his cleverness; the way he tricked the Guard and winched him up on the trapeze . . . . 54 times
Why: because it was funny, Ferdl was clever, skilled, he won against the nasty Guard

b) The children were always particularly enthusiastic about Ferdl when he clashed with the bureaucratic and villainous Guard. (Chase, the pail episode) . . . . 29 times
Why: The nasty Guard was tricked. Ferdl tricked him. Because the Guard did not catch Ferdl. Because it was funny

c) More than a quarter of the children were most impressed by the fact that Ferdl finally got a diploma and thus pleased his Puppeteer and the beautiful dancer . . . . . . 27 times
Why: Because everything went well in the end. Because Ferdl was so happy that he succeeded. Because Ferdl had worked hard and then could do everything. Because Ferdl did not give in. Because children like watching someone who is good at something.

d) Ferdl's ability to play a number of instruments well . . . . 24 times
Why: Because Ferdl could do everything well. Because I myself like to play musical instruments. Because I like music. Because Ferdl was such a clever chap. Because it was a lot of fun.

e) All the situations in which Ferdl was funny . . . . 10 times
Why: Because it was funny. Because there was a good chase. Because I like watching funny things.

f) The way the puppets held their ears shut so that they would not hear the horrible sound of Ferdl practising . . . . 4 times
Why: Because real puppets held their ears shut. Because it was funny

g) The ability of the Puppeteer . . . . 3 times

Why: Because the Puppeteer loved Ferdl, because he helped him and taught him many things. He was probably his Daddy. Because he was a Master. Because he made such a funny Puppet.

On the repetition of the question: "What did you like best?", the following was mentioned: the clumsy, funny Guard 24 times; the episode on the trapeze 21 times; the playing of the musical instruments (especially the organ) 14 times; the precision with which the Puppeteers worked their Puppets 9 times; (otherwise only single mentions).

A large number of the children were thrilled by the chasing scenes and the fun on the trapeze, but in nearly all cases it could be read between the lines that they were on the side of the clever, funny, diligent, and skilled Ferdl, and were against the unjust scorn and attempted oppression on the part of the Guard. Thus they took the part of Good against Bad, but usually only after a moment's thought when they had already praised the funny side of the story.

The happy ending, the success achieved, the righting of a wrong, were all considered by them to be the result of the hard work, the perseverance, and the courage of their hero Ferdl.

Musical children underlined the musical versatility, and all the others admired this as skill and the result of his hard work.

Not liked

No answer: 91 respondents

The fact that the Puppets and the Puppeteers held their ears shut . . . . twice

The violin playing in the high register . . . . twice

Once each: that the Dancer hid behind the corner of her poster; the Puppeteer; when Ferdl was sad; that there was no talking; that it was boring.

Only 4 respondents answered positively to the question as to whether there were any passages in the programme that could have been left out (Ferdl should not have hidden so often, once would have been enough; the Guard need not have been hit on the head so often by the pail, twice would have been plenty; Ferdl need not have played so many musical instruments; the Lion and the Seal on the posters were superfluous, the Rope Dancer would have been enough).

2) Answers specifically related to characters:

The question as to the popularity of the characters (which did you like best?) was repeated during the interview. The answers break down as follows:

	1st choice	2nd choice
a) Ferdl	98 times	—
b) the Dog	42 times	27 times
c) the Guard	30 times	once
d) the Puppeteer	23 times	6 times
e) the Rope Dancer	17 times	14 times
f) the Lion	9 times	—
g) the Porter	8 times	12 times
h) the Seal	3 times	twice

The degree of popularity of the individual figures depends – if the reasons for the preference are taken into consideration – in the first place on the relationship of the interviewee to the main figure, Ferdl. The children value faithfulness, comradeship, help in need, as well as skill, ability, and knowledge.

Ferdl's opponents are termed comical, ludicrous, and funny, because they vainly try to trick Ferdl.

Only about 20% of the children mention the clownery, the chase, and gags – and this often only in the third round – and without relating them to the character of the main figure.

The rating order of the characters resulting from the answers to the question "which character was the main figure" is somewhat different in so far as the Puppeteer here occupies the 2nd place. In him the children see Ferdl's father, his best friend, the person who gives Ferdl security. 3rd place is taken by the Guard, Ferdl's opponent. Then comes Ferdl's comrade and ally, the Dog, and finally the "three poster figures" – which in many cases are named collectively in this form by the children.

In answer to the question "Did you feel sorry for some of the characters?" the Clown was mentioned 87 times, the Puppeteer 6 times, the Dog 3 times, the Porter and the Monkey once each. 4 children felt sorry for no-one. Most sympathy was aroused by the hero and his friends when Ferdl's talent could not at first triumph over the Guard's one-track mind and brute force. The sympathy waned as Ferdl's talent asserted itself with the help of his friends.

The question "Was there anyone you would have liked to help? showed that the large majority of the children would have done so (74 times the Clown, 9 times the Puppeteer, once the Dog). Those (16 respondents) who rejected the idea nearly all added that the friends help one another anyway in the play and that their help is enough, because the "good" characters are not alone in their just aims.

In answer to the question "Which characters did you not like?" the following rating emerged:

86 time the Guard (because he was mean to the Clown)
19 times the Monkey (tore the diploma)
4 times the watching Puppets (didn't clap till Ferdl had already won; didn't help him before; held their ears shut as he played)
twice the Porter.

The children objected to brute force and stupidity. In four cases they condemned the "turncoats" who did not help when Ferdl was in need but who clapped enthusiastically when his success was already ensured.

V. The use of both real and other actors

The following groups of questions were intended to reveal the way in which the respondents rated, understood, and generally grasped the programme with regard to the form of presentation mentioned in the heading:

1) There were not only marionettes in the programme – like the Clown – but also other figures.
What were these other figures?

Puppeteer	100 times
Paper figures on posters	47 times

The real Puppeteer was noticed by all the children. But only half of the respondents differentiated between the Poster Figures and the Puppets. The other half apparently considered them as Puppets. Thus children usually only differentiate between real actors and the world of animated figures.

2) Would you say that the Poster Figures also acted?

Yes	96 times
A little	twice
Don't know	once

3) Would you rather have seen real actors in this programme?

Yes	9 times
No	85 times
Don't know	6 times

4) Why?

The following arguments were put forward in favour of real actors:

- Real actors speak
- I don't like puppets
- Because the wires can't be seen

The following arguments were put forward for marionettes:

- It would not be so clever with real actors
- The puppeteers are artists with their marionettes
- It would not be so nice etc.
- There was a reason for it in that story
- There would be no sense in it without puppets
- The real actors would have to speak and that would spoil the story
- It would then be more like a fairy-tale
- The puppets did it better than human beings, real people could not act as well, etc.

An overwhelming majority of the children did not only speak out in favour of puppets but also understood the real reason why puppets were used. The children understood that a marionette is not a substitute for a real actor, but that it has its own specific characteristics and leads its own kind of life.

5) What did the real actors do in this programme?

100 times . . . . . . they worked the puppets

6) Why did the programme show what the real people do?

10 children . . . . . . Don't know

The others:

So that you could see that the Puppets only act when somebody works the wires. So that you don't think that the Marionettes play on their own. We were supposed to see that the Puppets don't act on their own etc.

So that you could see that the Puppets have a world of their own

That depended very much on the action

So that you could see who had made the Puppets

So that you could see what the studio looks like

So that you could see how Marionettes are made and that it is a great art to work them

So that children understand that a Puppeteer must have some peace

Thus a large part of the children realized that the scenes in the Puppeteers' studio and the group of Puppeteers themselves were closely connected with the action which introduced the world of the Marionettes and that of their makers.

7) Did you like that?

Yes	76%
Don't know . . .	11%
Quite	9%
No	4%

VI. Understanding

1) Questions as to the success of the Clown and asking for a description of the ending were intended to test the understanding of the motives underlying the action.

The question as to whether the Clown was successful was answered in the affirmative by all the children. By success they meant the following:

51%	the playing of the musical instruments and the resulting popularity with the public and the posters
33%	asserting oneself, professional success, a job in the circus
12%	victory over the Guard
4%	success on the trapeze

The description of the ending can be broken down as follows:

45% Ferdl was successful, was clapped, got a contract, was rewarded, was given a job in the circus
35% Ferdl was happy with the Dancer
17% The Puppeteer looked for Ferdl, found him in the tent, was happy.

2) Another question aimed at eliciting what objects that occurred in the programme were remembered by the children.

From a table containing the objects named (cf. original text) it is clear that the children above all remembered musical instruments, with some instruments better remembered than others. Then came objects connected with the gags (pail, trapeze).

3) A further task whose solution depended on the understanding of the story entailed putting 12 photos in the order in which they occured in the story (for the numbering of the pictures cf. appendix).

Not a single child put the photos in the correct order. Only 32 children put two groups of photos totalling nine altogether in the correct order:

1, 7, 36, 3 . . . . 10, 18, 31, 20, 22

The most compact sequence of 5 photos: 10, 18, 31, 20, 22	by 36 children
The group of four 1, 7, 36, 3	by 36 children
The group of four 18, 31, 20, 22	by 6 children
The group of three 1, 7, 36	by 7 children
The group of three 10, 18, 31	by 12 children

VII. Picture Selection Tests

1) The respondents were presented with three pictures of each of the four figures: the Guard, the Puppeteer, the Dancer, and the Dog, and were asked to select from each group of three that picture of the character in question that they liked best, and then to give their reasons for the choice.

The preferences of the respondents break down as follows:
(for numbering of the pictures cf. Appendix).

a) Guard:		
Picture 29	36 times	All the photos had about the same effect. The difference in voting is not significant.
Picture 23	33 times	
Picture 30	31 times	
b) Puppeteer:		
Picture 5	48 times	Here the differences are greater. Picture 32 lies in the middle, picture 5 is more popular.
Picture 32	35 times	
Picture 28	17 times	
c) Dancer:		
Picture 9	81 times	Here the greatest differences are to be found. Picture 9 is by far the most popular. No. 33 was not selected at all.
Picture 12	19 times	
Picture 33	—	
d) Dog:		
Picture 34	61 times	Picture 34 leads the others significantly. 4 and 14 are equally popular.
Picture 4	20 times	
Picture 14	19 times	

2) In another test 12 photos had to be sorted into "important" and "unimportant". Considered important were:

77 times	Photo No.: 36
75 times	Photo No.: 22
73 times	Photo No.: 3
67 times	Photo No.: 15
65 times	Photo No.: 31
64 times	Photo No.: 20
62 times	Photo No.: 10
56 times	Photo No.: 18
47 times	Photo No.: 1
34 times	Photo No.: 35
29 times	Photo No.: 8
23 times	Photo No.: 7

VIII. Sociological notes on the respondents

The number, age, and sex of the respondents have already been given in the opening chapter of this analysis. I should like to add here that the children composing the sample came from various social strata. Some of them also came from families where there were several children (highest number of brothers and sisters 3). The children tested have many friends, both at school and at home.

Nearly 85% of the children watch television programmes at home, the rest at relatives' or friends' houses, in school clubs, or in day hostels. About 25% are daily viewers, 50% watch TV 4 or 5 times a week, the rest 2 or 3 times a week. Some adult programmes are also seen by 12 year olds.

Summary

This programme was very well received by the children. In all three ballots a large number of the children rated the programme as their favourite; a third of the respondents – or somewhat less than a quarter – counted it among the programmes they liked, and 1–2% considered it reasonably interesting. There was no rating less favourable than this.

The hero won the sympathy of the viewers. In comparison with the ideas that the children had of the character of a clown before they saw the programme, they now recognized Ferdl's feeling for friendship, his perseverance, his diligence, his skill, and his honesty.

The other characters in the story were rated according to their relationship to the main character. The story itself tended to help the understanding in this respect. Only some of the children were carried away entirely by the comic aspects. The others discovered behind the chase scenes and the gags an element which – as they emphasized – seemed to support the clever and hard-working Ferdl who was unjustly despised, humiliated and pursued by the obstinate Guard. The children were on the side of Good against Bad. Ferdl's happiness, brought about at the end of the story, his success, the compensation for injustice: they considered all these things to have been the result of his hard work, his perseverance, and his skill. Musical children appreciated Ferdl's musical versatility. In general they correctly differentiated between real actors (the Puppeteers) and marionettes, between the two worlds of the human beings and the puppets.

The children very well remembered the turning points of the story, especially all those where the hero was threatened by some sort of danger and where he overcame it. The attention of the children increased towards the end. The tempo of the programme was in keeping with this, and the ending easy for the children to understand.

Nevertheless it emerges that the age range for this competition category is too large, for there is too big a difference between the comprehension of the eight and twelve year olds. It would undoubtedly be more apropriate if the following age groups were used in future competitions:

Category II . . . . . . 8–11 year olds/instead of 8–12
Category III . . . . . . 12–15 year olds/instead of 13–15

Milos Volf

THE AMERICAN REPORT

Introduction

In 1966, the second Prix Jeunesse competition was held in Munich. Television programs for children were entered from approximately 30 countries. Prizes were awarded for three age-levels and two categories, entertainment and information. The Czechoslovakian program, "Clown Ferdl", received an award in the category of entertainment programs for intermediate-aged children. This fact plus its format makes it a natural choice for research across national bounds. The program, one half-hour in length, tells the story of Ferdl, a string-puppet from the day he begins to learn to play a variety of musical instruments to when he wins employment in the puppet circus by his virtuousity. The major sequences involved working hard to master the musical instruments, applying and being refused at the circus, his disappointment, returning at night to play a concert for Poster Animals and the Dancer at the circus, being chased and out-witting the Guard, winning success by his musical skill, and gaining the attentions of the Dancer. The sound track is almost entirely music; no language is needed to understand the story or the events.

The Prix Jeunesse Foundation has among its objectives improving the quality of television programs presented to children. To this end, it not only holds the biennial competition, but also stimulates exchange of information among producers and scholars, and encourages research. This particular project is part of a program to encourage cross-cultural research. A common design was followed by research teams in five countries: Czechoslovakia, England, France, Germany, and the United States, in studying children's reactions to the program.

Population

The total sample consisted of 100 children – 20 each age level from eight to 12 years. Half of the children at each age level were boys, half were girls. These were further subdivided so that half of each subgroup was below average, half above average in intelligence. The following table shows median IQ by age level (group intelligence test).

Age	8	9	10	11	12
High IQ Group Medians	112	115	114	118	116
Low IQ Group Medians	93	94	94	97	94

The children were drawn from the population of an urban, elementary school serving a heterogeneous population. From previous survey, the socio-economic status (Warner scale) of the population is known to be upper-lower and middle class. The surnames of the children suggest a highly varied ethnic background.

Procedure

Children were assembled in small groups of similar age. Each was provided a questionnaire on which he entered his name, age, and grade. Then, as the interviewer read a list of adjectives aloud, each child judged if he thought the given attribute, e. g. funny, was true, somewhat true, or not true of a clown. Otherwise the child marked „don't know". Care was taken to ensure that children understood the task, and that they entered their mark on the correct row.

The group then viewed the program, following which each child was interviewed individually using a questionnaire which asked him to recall as much as he could of the program, repeat the adjective rating, and respond to questions which tapped his liking, evaluation, and comprehension of the program. Twice during the course of the interview he was asked to rank the program "Clown Ferdl" in comparison with familiar programs on U. S. channels. In ranking the programs, the procedure suggested by the French team was used. The child was asked to name three familiar programs: his favorite, one he liked, one he disliked. These were recorded from high to low in alternate boxes in a ladder arrangment. To make the rating, the child was handed a small card with the name "Clown Ferdl" written on it and instructed to place the card in any of the programs he had named. The interview ended with a short series of questions on background and television viewing habits of the child.

Results

The distribution of the responses of the children are reported by age, sex, and IQ level in the appendices. In several instances, chi square or "t" tests were applied to test significance of differences. Perhaps the most striking observation is the similarities in response patterns rather than the differences, for few of the latter reach statistical significance.

Immediate effects of the program on children's perceptions

The table on page 93 reports the effects of the program on the children's perceptions of a clown. Before and after the viewing, the children were asked to classify the adjectives listed as true, somewhat true, not true, or don't know. Ratings were assigned as follows:

Entirely true = 1
Somewhat true = 2
Don't know = 3
Not true = 5

The table on the following page reports the effects of the program on the children's perceptions each child. Positive scores indicated a shift in the direction of believing the characteristic true of clowns, negative scores in the direction of not true. A summation of scores without regard to algebraic sign provided an index of overall changes, while the summation with algebraic signs considered indicated the net shift in perception of a clown. The median ratings by age, sex, and IQ group plus the above summations are shown in the first ten pages of the appendix. The following table is a frequency distribution of the magnitude of change on each of the 22 adjectives. Given twenty children in each age group a shift of 20 points is needed to average a single point per child. Few of the shifts in perception were of this magnitude. Most of the net changes were small and positive.

Magnitude of change on 22 adjectives	Age 8	9	10	11	12	Total
26–30				1		1
21–25	1		1	1	1	4
16–20	1			2	1	4
11–15	3	4	6	3	4	20
6–10	5	3	1	3	5	17
1–5	9	6	5	4	4	28
0	1	1	1	1	1	20
–(1–5)	2	4	5	4	4	19
–(6–10)		4	3	1	1	9
–(11–15)						0
–(16–20)				1	1	2
–(21–25)				1		1

In the table on the following page, the few shifts in perception which occurred as a result of viewing the program are listed separately for each age level. The major shift (net of 20 points) is consistent with the character of Clown Ferdl. Yet an over-all judgment must be that the degree of shift in perception as a result of viewing this program is slight. Such a finding is consistent with research which shows that impact on children's perception is greatest where they are most naive. Children have sufficient experience to have an established perception of clowns. In this sample four of five age groups perceived a clown as

		not	not
funny	clever	bragging	quiet
lively	happy	rejected	rude
good-natured	hardworking	annoying	serious

In the following table, arrows indicate the direction of shift, short arrows indicate trends, underscoring indicates items on which considerable fluctuation in judgment occurred, usually with little net change for the group.

Age differences

The responses to questions were considered in three clusters: those involving the preferences of the children (e. g. No. 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, etc.); and those involving an evaluation of the program (e. g. 4, 8, 10, 13, 15, etc.); and those of a cognitive nature (e. g. 5, 17, 25, 26, 29, etc.)

Preferences

Generally speaking response to the program "Clown Ferdl" was positive, but it is questionable if the children would have awarded a prize to the program. The two episodes of the program appealing most were the Clown on the trapeze and the Clown's musical talents. Beyond this the actions, characters, or events specified as appealing were highly varied. This was also true of items disliked. Such a result is consistent with Himmelweit's early finding about varied preferences of children. In many instances a most-liked item would be mentioned by only a single child. This held true for disliked items, with 60% mentioning something, 40% nothing, yet feelings were not strong in as much as 75% of the children would omit nothing from the program.

The Clown was best-liked at all ages, the Guard a close second with the older children (10–12). Half the children expressed sympathy for the Clown, but it was the younger children who expressed a feeling of wanting to help, the older children (11–12) expressed no such desire. This item approached statistical significance (.10 level).

At all age levels, the children were vague when asked reasons for their preferences response. It was quite clear that these children approach television with limited critical judgment regarding their likes and dislikes.

Evaluation

When a rating of 5 is assigned to the favorite program, a 3 to a program which they like, and a 1 to disliked programs, this group of children rate the program between a liked and a favorite program. Younger children (8–9) rate the program higher than older ones (10–12), assigning an average of 4.2 compared to 3.3. These ratings are fairly reliable, particularly with the older children where 75% of the ratings were identical on test-retest. 40% of the ratings of the younger children were identical, the balance shifting by one or more points.

ITEM: A CLOWN IS ....

Sample: USA N = 100	Not true	Don't know	True
Age: 8	bragging	sad	funny
	rejected →	good-natured	lively
No change from	stubborn	stupid	clever
pre-to post-test	annoying	sensitive →	happy
	serious →	bold	ambitious
	rude	fearful →	successful
	lazy		hardworking
	quiet		
Pre-post change		musical ————→	
Age: 9	stupid	sad	funny
	bragging	musical →	good-natured
	rejected	sensitive	lively
	annoying	stubborn	clever
	— serious →	bold	happy
	rude	fearful	ambitious
	lazy →		successful
	quiet →		
Age: 10	stupid	sad →	funny
	bragging	musical →	good-natured
	rejected →	clever	lively
	stubborn	sensitive	happy
	annoying	ambitious	hardworking
	serious →	bold	
	rude	fearful	
	lazy	quiet	
Pre-post change		successful ————→	
Age: 11	bragging	sad →	funny
	rejected	ambitious	good-natured
	stubborn	successful	lively
	annoying	hardworking	clever →
	rude	sensitive	happy
	quiet	bold	
		fearful	
		lazy	
Pre-post change	serious ————→	musical	
	←————	stupid ————→	
Age: 12	rejected	sad	funny
	annoying	stupid	good-natured
	rude	bragging	lively
	quiet	sensitive →	clever
		stubborn	happy
		ambitious →	successful
		bold	hardworking
		fearful →	
		musical ————→	
Pre-post change		serious ————→	
	←————	lazy	

The group was nearly unanimous in rating the finale as a good ending, but again the reasons given were either general, or in the case of the older children – "Don't Know". This latter response could easily result from a lesser degree of involvement and hence no particular sense of obligation to seriously consider the program. Whatever composite judgment can be made from responses by age groups would suggest that the program is more appropriate to the 8–9 year age level.

Some reference is necessary regarding the basis for comparison used by the children. In listing favorite programs the boys cited three types of programs: (1) action-adventure such as Lost in Space, (2) animated programs such as Spiderman, and (3) situation somedy such as McHale's Navy or F. Troop. The girl's preferences followed the feminine versions found in Adams Family, Flying Nun, Bewitched, and Walt Disney programs.

Pursuant to the procedure prescribed, children were asked to select a preferred photograph from a set of three of each of the principal characters (Guard, Puppeteer, Dancer, Dog – Q48, 50, 52, 54). Their reasons for choosing the preferred photo were classified into four categories: (1) the appearance of, (2) an action taken, (3) a feeling expressed, or (4) a relationship between characters. The assumption underlying this categorization was that younger children would respond more to appearances and actions, and older children to the less obvious feelings and relationships. As seen below, the assumption proved false.

			Age			
Number of responses related to	8	9	10	11	12	Total
Appearance	15	13	12	14	21	75
Action	13	11	11	12	9	56
Feeling	14	7	14	8	11	54
Relationship	5	22	4	13	9	53

Asked to select six pictures considered most important from a set of 12, the following were chosen by half or more of each age group.

		No. 1		
No. 3	3	3	3	
			No. 7	
No. 8	8	8		
No. 10	10	10		
No. 15	15	15	15	15
No. 18	18	18	18	18
		No. 20	20	20
No. 22		No. 22	22	22
	No. 36		36	36

Photographs No. 15 and No. 18 correspond to the two episodes most liked at all ages – Ferdl playing and Ferdl on the trapeze. Photographs No. 20 and No. 22 symbolize Ferdl's success – contract and approval of the ballerina, while No. 8 and No. 10 include all principal characters except the Puppeteer and the most exciting episode, the Guard chasing Ferdl.

Cognitive

A general conclusion that differences in reponse associated with age level (at least for the questions asked) are negligible is supported by the findings on information gains and comprehension of the program.

1. No differences in specificity of reasons given for preferences.
2. With the exception of the oldest age group which stands somewhat higher, the number of characters recalled are equivalent – Puppeteer, Clown, Guard, Dancer, and Dog dominating all age levels.
3. The proportion of the program (judged by the number of incidents) recalled without prompting is similar or all age levels – approximately 25%. Older children omitted fewer of the major sequences and made fewer errors in recalling these sequences in correct order.
4. No difference in the number of patterns of character recalled (Item No. 24).
5. No difference in credibility of accepting posters as characters (No. 26).
6. No differences in perception of puppets being manipulated (No. 29) although this item approaches statistical significance. (10 level).
7. No differences in recollections of events between Dancer-Clown, Clown's friends, successes, or the finale (No. 35, 38, 41–43).

Differences by sex and intelligence

One would anticipate differences in amount of recollection of program to occur in association with differences in measured intelligence. Some tendency in this direction occurs (Q No. 6) with respect to the number and accuracy of recall of sequences more than with number of incidents. A similar difference occurs with regard to number of people recalled in response to Q. No. 17. In both instances the differences are more noticeable with the younger children, tapering off at upper age levels.

Few differences are found to be associated with sex, most noticeable perhaps being a more favorable judgment rendered by the older girls. Such a finding would be compatible with differences between boys and girls in program preferences.

Television viewing habits

Only one home of the 100 represented by this group of children didn't contain a television set, a situation which is typically American. However even this child was no stranger to television. One-half of the children reported two sets at home. The characteristic viewing pattern was that of daily viewing, with only 17 of the children reporting less.

With three exceptions, all children had two or more siblings, with two siblings being the median number. Half of the group were middle children, the remainder divided almost equally between first and last born. Given two siblings, one would expect such a distribution on a chance basis. In general, the group appears gregarious, with 3–4 school friends typically reported, and two after-school friends. What could be considered heavy viewing appears less an escape than part of an active life. Most of these children are at their peak period of viewing television, national averages at the upper-age levels approximating 25 hours per week.

Ralph Garry

ANNEX

Contents of the programme:

I The first step is always difficult

1) **) The puppeteers are making puppets in their workshop. In a corner Clown Ferdl is practising on the violin with his puppeteer. It's a terrible noise.

1–8*) The people and the puppets hold their ears shut; Ferdl's dachshund howls. At the request of the others, Ferdl's puppeteer goes with him into the adjacent bathroom. The dog waits outside.

2) 9–17 Through the glass door the silhouette of Ferdl and the puppeteer can be seen as they practise on various instruments. There is a calendar next to the door. Its leaves are turned and torn off in order to indicate the passing of time (1 month) while the two are practising. At the end of this period Ferdl comes out from the bathroom with a Master's certificate in his hand. (Photo No. 1)

3) 18–21 The various puppeteers take their puppets to a brightly lit circus tent. Ferdl's puppeteer puts Ferdl plus certificate into a small car so that he can join the others. He himself stays behind, waves, and finally throws Ferdl a flower. Only the dog goes along with Ferdl. (Photo No. 7)

II Disappointment

4) 23–26 A deaf porter is sitting in the circus booking-office. Although Ferdl tries to draw attention to himself by playing on various instruments, and the dog barks, it is some time before the porter reacts, and even then he does not understand that Ferdl wishes to get a job with the circus. (Photo No. 36)

5) 27 A monkey comes up, grabs Ferdl's certificate, escapes up a long pole, makes a paper aeroplane out of the certificate, and throws it down.

6) 28–30 The torn paper falls on the cap of the newly arrived guard. Instead of reacting to Ferdl's request to look at the certificate, the guard throws a broom and pail at the Clown, and tells him to clean the place up. But Ferdl manipulates the broom and pail in such a way that the guard is hit over the head with them. The guard now throws him out of the circus. (Photo No. 29)

7) 31–35 Ferdl is back with his puppeteer again; he sits at the man's feet, complains of the treatment he has received, shows his torn certificate, and is comforted by the puppeteer and the dog. Then the puppeteer puts Ferdl to bed and tucks him up.
(Photo No. 3)

8) 36–38 Ferdl dreams. The dog pulls Ferdl's caravan back to the circus. It is night. Ferdl enters the empty arena. There are three posters hanging there: a lion, a seal, and a female dancer. He bows to them. (Photo No. 8)

III The concert

9) 39–44 Ferdl gets out an accordeon, and plays to the posters. The animals applaud, the dancer remains unimpressed, and rolls down the upper corner of her poster to cover her face.

10) 45–52 Ferdl gets out a violin, the animals clap and dance to the rhythm, and now the dancer also smiles graciously. He goes on his knees before her.

11) 53–54 Ferdl uses a bicycle pump to blow up his violin into a double bass, and then plays on.

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*) The numbers of the main and subsidiary passages according to the Czechoslovakien scheme
**) The numbers of the passages as used for the German study.

IV The chase

12) 55–58 The guard has heard the music. The light goes on in his caravan. He appears in dressing-gown and night cap. He steps onto the broom, as above, and the pail hits him on the head. As Ferdl has hidden himself, the guard goes back to his caravan without achieving anything. (Poto No. 35)

13) 59–63 Ferdl is giving a great performance on a guitar with increasing tempo. The dancer closes her eyes in enthusiasm, and waves her parasol coquettishly. (Photo No. 15)

14) 64–67 The guard comes back into the arena, again in his nightshirt, but now wearing his official cap. The gag with thre broom and pail is repeated.

15) 68–71 Ferdl is now doing a one-man band act with drums, percussion, trumpet. The posters are swinging in time with the music, but then warn Ferdl behind whose back the guard is already standing. The dog attacks the guard, biting him in the leg. (Photo No. 23)

16) 72–76 Big chase scene with the guard after Ferdl, they alternately shut one another in a big crate, and the guard falls over the drum. Then Ferdl jumps onto a see-saw. The guard jumps onto the other end, Ferdl flies into the air, and lands on a high trapeze.
(Photo No. 10)

17) 77–80 Ferdl carries out some difficult acobatic tricks on the trapeze (a long scene); the animals and the dancer are frightened for him. The guard goes to the winder on whose rope the trapeze is suspended, turns it, and lowers Ferdl to the ground.
(Photos No. 18 and 31)

18) 81–82 A new chase starts. The guard falls over the trapeze, and gets caught up in it. Now Ferdl winds him up into the top of the tent, where he dangles unhappily. The posters applaud. (Photo No. 30)

V Success

19) 83–85 Ferdl gets an organ out of his caravan, and gives a brilliant concert. Now the animals begin to play with their implements, and throw balls back and forth. The rope dancer juggles the balls thrown to her into the shape of a heart.

20) 86–88 There are lights on in the caravans round the tent. The circus people (puppets) stream in and applaud. A circus director appears (puppet), and hands Ferdl a new diploma – or contract. (Photo No. 20)

21) 89–90 The puppeteers are taking their puppets home again. Ferdl is home again with his puppeteer, and shows his new contract with great joy. While the puppeteer is reading the document Ferdl slips off unobserved.

VI Happiness

22) 91–92 The puppeteer notices that Ferdl has gone, looks for him, goes to the circus, and finds the dog in front of the tent.

23) 93 The puppeteer holds the canvas door to the tent open, looks in, and sees Ferdl in the arena sitting on the ramp; he has the poster of the dancer next to him, and is obviously happy.
(Photo No. 22)

QUESTIONNAIRE: CLOWN FERDL

Before the programme

1) (Filling in Clown List I)

After the programme

2) What is your name?
3) How old are you?
4) You have certainly already seen many television programmes. You like some of them very much, others not so much. If you had a little chest of drawers and could put the programmes into various drawers, depending on how much you liked them, into which drawer would you put the programme you have just seen? (Interviewer hands the respondent the picture of a chest of drawers)

   Read this carefully, and put a cross next to the drawer you have chosen.
5) Could you tell me what the story of the programme was? What was it about? (In pauses: "What else?" ("And then?")
6) You are now going to be given three cards: on the first card is says "the best programme of all", on the second card it says "a programme I quite liked", on the third card it says "a programme I didn't like at all". Please write on each card the name of a programme you know and which fits on the card in your opinion. (Pause – interviewer now hands over the card with "Clown Ferdl")

   Now you have two possibilities. You can either put the Ferdl card on one of the other cards, or put it in between two of the others, in the space between – depending on how you liked "Clown Ferdl" in comparison with the other three programmes.
7) What did you like best about the "Clown Ferdl" programme?
8) Can you tell me why you liked that best?
9) Was there anything else you liked?
10) Why did you like it?
11) What was there in the programme that made you laugh?
12) Can you tell me what you didn't like – what you didn't like at all?
13) Why didn't you like it?
14) Was there anything else you didn't like?
15) Why didn't you like it?
16) Do you think there were any parts of the programme that might just as well have been left out?
17) Can you tell me who all the characters in the programme were? Who were the main characters?
18) Which characters in the programme did you like best?
19) Why?
20) Anyone else?
21) Why?
22) Did you feel sorry for any of the characters in the programme?
23) Was there anyone in the programme ou would have liked to help?
24) Which characters in the programme didn't you like?

24a) (Fill out Clown List II)

25) You know that there were not only puppets – like the Clown – but other actors, don't you? Who were they?
26) What would you say if someone said that the posters were also actors?

27) Would you rather have had real children instead of puppets in the programme?
28) Why? Why not?
29) What did the real people in the programme do?
30) Why was it shown like that?
31) Did you like that idea?
32) What happened between the circus Guard and the Clown?
33) What would you have done in the Guard's place?
34) What would you have done if you had been the Clown and had met the Guard?
35) What happened between the Dancer and the Clown?
36) What would you have done in the Dancer's place?
37) What would you have done if you had been the Clown and had seen the dancer on the poster?
38) Did Clown Ferdl have any friends? (Depending on the answer: any other friends?)
39) Who was his best friend?
40) What happened between this friend and him?
41) Did the Clown have any successes?
42) What were they?
43) What happened at the end of the programme?
44) Do you think that was a good or a bad ending to the programme?
45) Why do you think it was a good/bad ending to the programme?
46) Can you tell me some of the things that the puppets in the film used?
47) Anything else?
48) Now I'm going to show you three pictures of the Guard. Tell me on which picture does he look the way you like him best?
49) Why do you like this picture best?
50) – 55) The same questions – but related to three pictures each of the Puppeteer, the Dancer, and the Dachshund)
56) I'm going to give you twelve pictures from "Clown Ferdl". Please put them in two groups, one with the important, one with the less important pictures. You must put at least 4 pictures in the less important pile.
56a) Why did you think these pictures were more important?
56b) Why did you think these pictures were less important?
57) Were there other pictures in the programme that you would have liked to put in the "important" pile? Any others?
58) Can you put them in the order in which they came in the programme?
59) As a reward you can have one of the pictures for yourself. You can pick one out now.
60) You remember, don't you, that right at the beginning you put the Clown programme in a certain drawer: in the drawer with the programmes you like as much as you like Clown Ferdl. (Interviewer hands over a new copy of the chest of drawers) Would you do it again? Put your cross in the spot you now think is right.
61) What is your name?
62) How old are you?
63) How many brothers and sisters have you?
64) How old are they?
65) Have you any friends you can play with at school?
66) What are their names?
69) Have you a television set at home? Yes/No
70) How often are you allowed to look at television during the week?
71) Did you look at television yesterday, or yesterday evening?
72) If yes: What programme did you see?

CLOWN I (Clown List II contains the same words in a different order)

A clown is:

	quite true	fairly true	not true	don't know
funny				
melancholy				
musical				
nimble				
good-natured				
stupid				
cheeky				
frisky				
bragging				
resourceful				
clever				
sensitive				
outcast				
happy				
honest				
friendly				
stubborn				
ambitious				
successful				
modest				
bold				
famous				
hard-working				
lazy-minded				
serious				
big-mouthed				
sad				
rude				
fearful				
easily offended				
excited				
lazy				

PHOTOS FROM THE
TELEVISION PROGRAMME

CLOWN FERDL

Photo Nº 1

Photo Nº 7

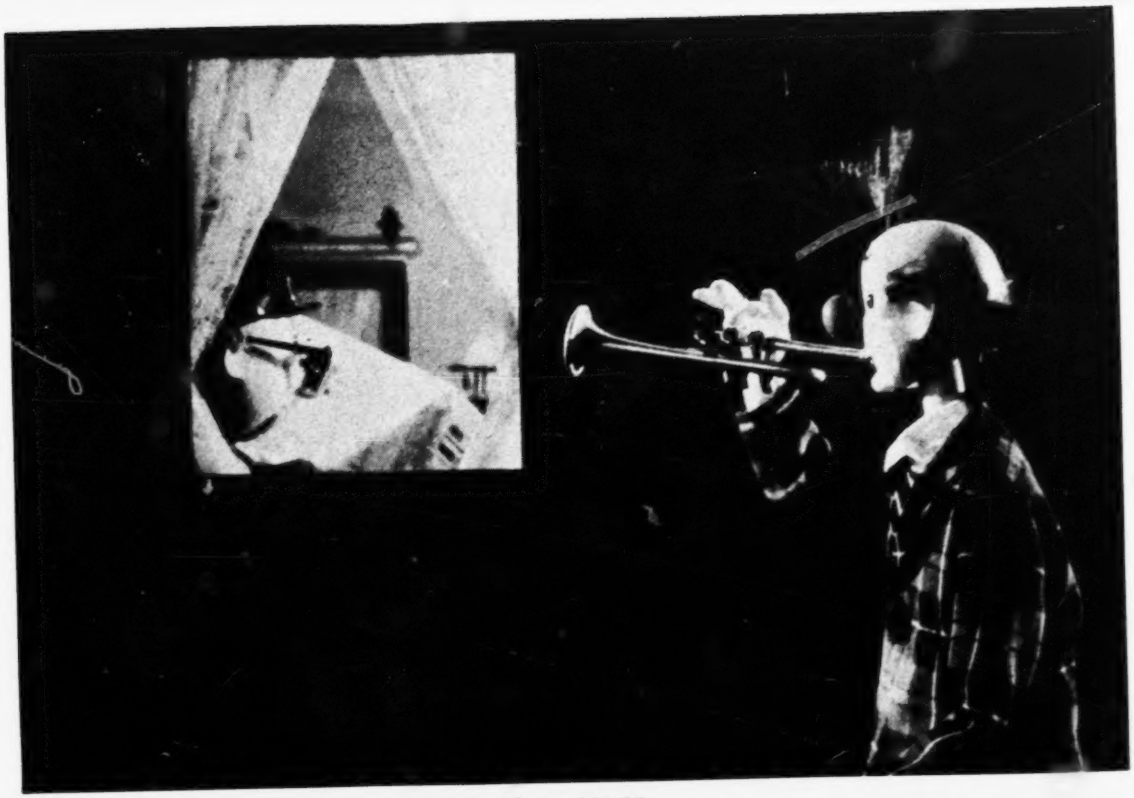

Photo Nº 36

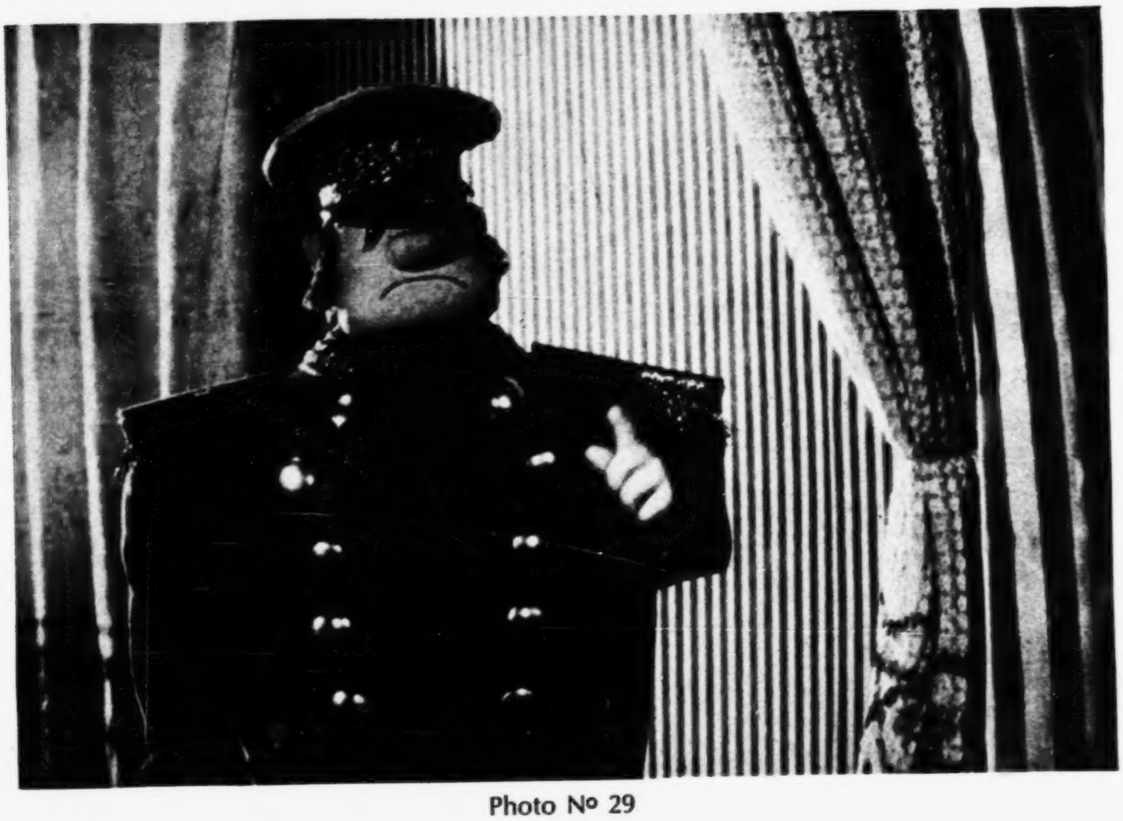

Photo Nº 29

Photo Nº 3

Photo Nº 8

Photo Nº 35

Photo Nº 15

Photo Nº 23

Photo Nº 10

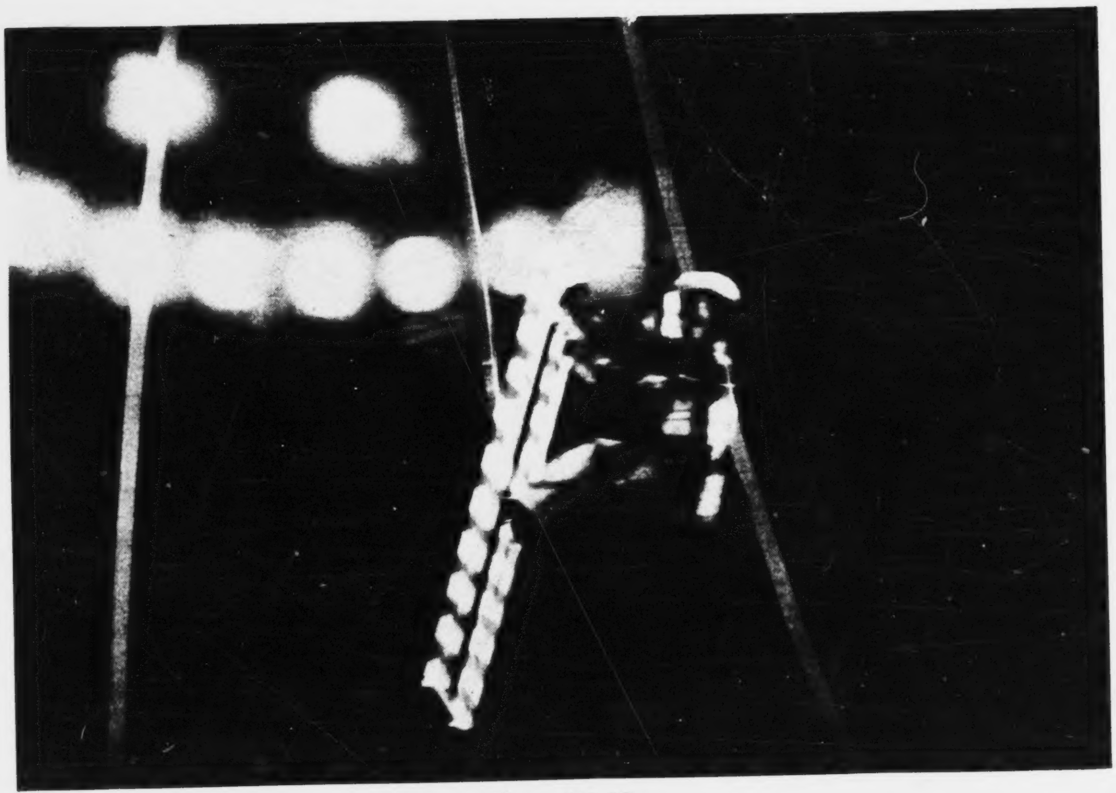
Photo Nº 18

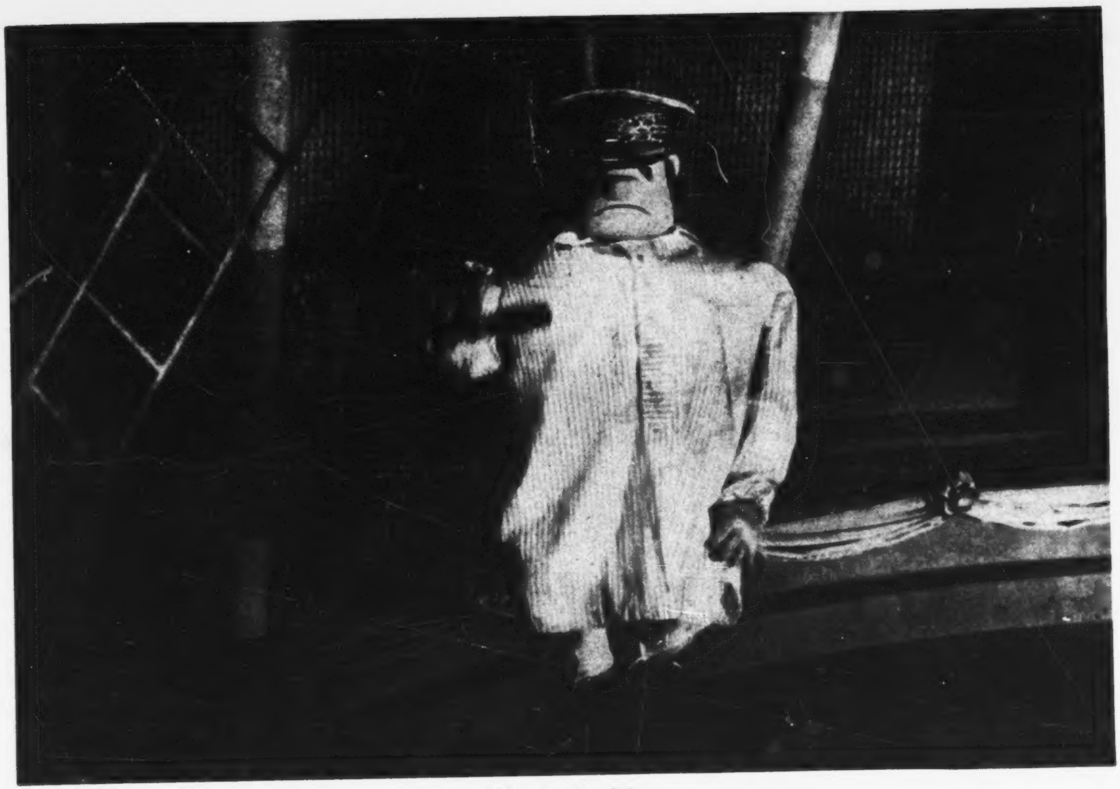
Photo Nº 31

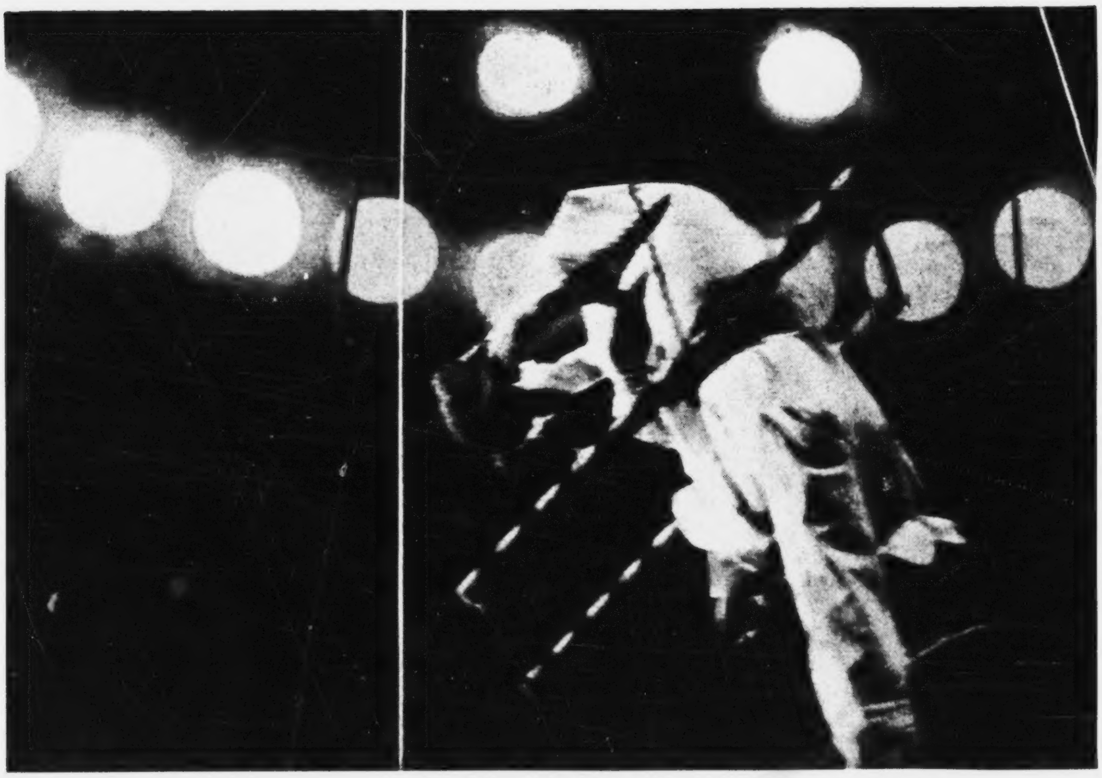

Photo Nº 30

Photo Nº 20

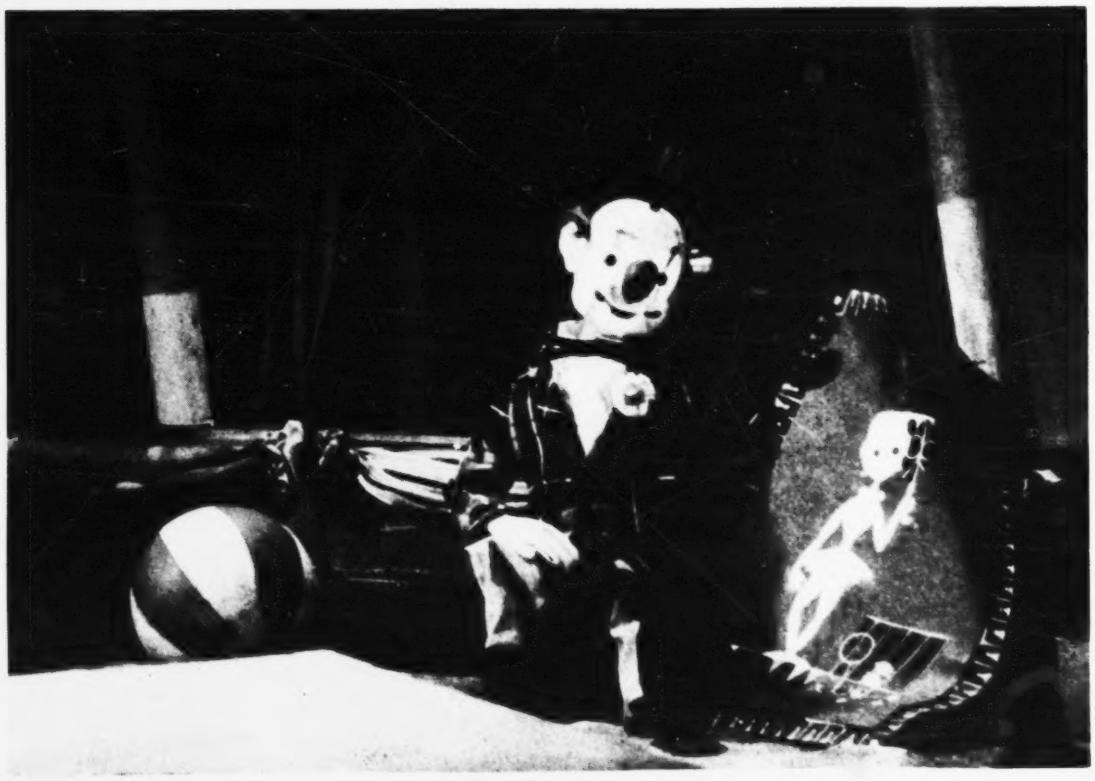

Photo № 22